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JAMES BURRILL ANGELL: *an American Influence*



JAMES  
BURRILL  
ANGELL:



ANN ARBOR

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

1954

*an American Influence*

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SHIRLEY W. SMITH

\*



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*To the Memories of*

MY FATHER, CLEMENT MAC DONALD SMITH

LL.B. 1867

*and*

MY SON, REYNOLDS RICH SMITH

*For a few weeks in 1918*

*Before he left for the United States Military Academy*

*A first-year student in the College of Engineering*





## *Preface*

*I*n the preparation of this book I have had much sympathetic help. The friends who have so kindly co-operated include the old stand-bys: Wilfred B. Shaw, Ralph Stone of Detroit, Earl D. Babst of New York. In addition there must be mentioned: Dr. Esson M. Gale, Professor Emeritus Philip E. Bursley, Dr. Charles A. Sink, the Reverend Archibald Forshee of Dorchester, Mass., Dr. Elbert Freeman, Miss Mildred Hinsdale, Mrs. William D. (Margery Bursley) Angst, Dean E. Blythe Stason, Professor F. N. Menefee, Professor James Walterhouse Angell of New York, Professor Robert Cooley Angell, Mrs. Robert W. Ehrlich of West Orange, N.J., Mrs. Earl W. (Sybil Pettee) Dow, Miss Amey Aldrich of New York, Mrs. Constance McLaughlin Green of Washington, D.C., George G. Bass of Harris, Upham & Company, New York, Sevellon Brown, publisher of the *Providence Journal*, Gustavus A. Ohlinger of Toledo, Gilbert H. Montague of New York, Colonel Thomas M. Spaulding of Washington, D.C., Mrs. Henry Hulst of Grand Rapids, Dr. H. Winnett Orr of Lincoln, Neb., Thomas P. Hazard of Peace Dale, R.I., Freeman Baylis (son of Sam Baylis) of Toledo, Robert Fuoss, managing editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, and Professor Lewis G. Vander Velde and the entire staff of the Michigan Historical Collections. Those listed above whose addresses are not given are residents of Ann Arbor. At Brown University I had assistance from Provost Samuel T. Arnold, Miss Marion E. Brown, librarian, Vice-president Thomas B. Appleget, Bruce Bigelow of the vice-president's office, and John K. McIntyre, assistant to the president. From the University of Vermont I benefited from the help of the Wilbur Library and in particular of Professor



Roger G. Cooley. Co-operation has been extended, too, by the Burton Historical Collection of Detroit, the Rhode Island Historical Society of Providence, and the Clements Library, particularly through Colton Storm. Especially, I should record that to Professor James Angell MacLachlan of the Harvard Law School, a grandson, I am indebted for truly thoughtful assistance and advice—and where I have not accepted his views, I have not unlikely been wrong. And, finally, I have had the research and typing help of Miss Ruth Georgia Lawson, which has been as invaluable in putting this book together as it was in preparing *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*.

Let me say, however, that in all cases, for the things I have set down in the book I alone am responsible.

I came to the University sixteen years before Dr. Angell ceased to be President—twenty-three years before his death. He personally admitted me as a student. The first time I met him on the campus, it was as natural to me as to breathe to take off my cap as I passed him. I had perhaps the common number of undergraduate interviews with him on “matters of great pith and moment” to the student, if not to the President. None of these conversations with him, I am pleased to record, was at his request. I took “with delight” his courses in International Law and the History of Treaties. I had from him three letters of appointment as Instructor, in one of which he quoted a salary of \$900, which was \$300 more than the sum of \$600 that had been promised me by Professor I. N. Demmon. When I hopefully hurried in to find out if it were really so, he told me genially that I could probably hold the University to his error, but I did not think he meant it and I had grave doubts that I was really worth the larger sum as a teacher. I magnanimously waived my “equity” and dropped back to the more reasonable compensation.

When (on the \$600) I married an Ann Arbor girl whose mother, in her lifetime, had been a close friend of the Angells, I moved a step nearer intimacy with the presidential family. As general secretary of the Alumni Association for three years, my work brought me into closer and more frequent contacts with the President from my own office across the hall. Then, when after a four-year residence in Philadelphia, I came back to the University as its Secretary, my office desk was in his anteroom, and we were in daily touch. These contacts continued, though obviously in a lesser number, after he became emeritus, as besides the guidance and advice I frequently sought from the wise old man, President Hutchins would ask me to “see what Dr. Angell thought” about this or that.

(If James B. Angell had been writing the above, he would just naturally have found means of leaving out the first personal pronoun in most places where it appears. The present writer is simply trying to bring out the fact that he has personal recollections which must enter into this biography.)

Patterns of college presidents obviously change in a period of half a century. The work of Angell must not be judged by the standards of today. It would seem sufficient to remember that in the years when he was its President, with the possible exception of the very last of them, the University of Michigan was easily the leader and pattern among the state universities, and the peer of the older, endowed institutions of the East. It was no accident—no example of “alumni loyalty”—that at his death the New York *Evening Post* bracketed together as pre-eminent in the field: President Eliot of Harvard, President White of Cornell, President Gilman of Johns Hopkins, and President Angell of Michigan.<sup>1</sup>

The standing that Michigan achieved under his presidency is proof of his status as an educational leader. But he had, also, to a degree unmatched by any of his great contemporaries the personal, the common touch, and the unique influence that emanates from such a personality. No reader of the following pages can fail to observe this fact. Rare in his own time, it may be still more so amid the swirl of complexities of today. It was not a “buttering-up” of the people with whom he came in contact—students, colleagues, fellow-townsmen, legislators, citizens of Michigan. It came from a straightforward, everyday, honest recognition on his part of the truth he promulgated to a graduating class in his address, “Lessons Suggested by Christ’s Life to the Scholar”: “Mingle freely as learners with men around you. Some of you will soon perceive that there are many useful things, you may be surprised to see how many, [that are] not taught or learned in any University.” In all his poise there was no mere varnish.

But woe to any presumer on his own dignity or his sense of what was due the dignity of his position. I recall once watching him come down

<sup>1</sup> “Nowhere is the community of interests between learning and life, intellectual and material progress, the school and the community so vitally recognized and practically expressed as in the state universities, and by the people of those states which most liberally support them. No one has contributed so much to make this a fact throughout the West as President Angell. Wherever in the rapidly developing scale of state universities the University of Michigan may hereafter find itself, none of the others will fail to recognize that the high type was set and the right standards were fixed for all of them by President Angell at Ann Arbor.” Editorial in *Survey*, May 1, 1909.



the aisle of old University Hall as a lecture audience gathered. He was preceded by a student who had well earned a campus-wide reputation for "brass." This young man proceeded to the very front row where he would be in full view of every person in the auditorium. Arrived there he turned with somewhat of a flourish to bow the President into a seat beside himself. But the President, sensing the situation, had quietly dropped into a vacant seat halfway down the aisle, and the would-be hobnobber was so obviously squelched that a quiet chuckle—in some parts of the hall considerably more than a chuckle—spread among his fellow students at his discomfiture. For all his simplicity and cheerful tranquility Angell was no Pollyanna. He stood up undaunted to all the buffetings of the Rose–Douglas warfare. He met with the serenity of strength griefs that would have bowed low a smaller soul.

Wilfred Shaw once put his finger on the nature of Angell's far-reaching strength. When a newcomer asked Shaw, "Well, what did President Angell *do*?" his reply went to the depths: "Dr. Angell didn't have to *do* anything. He *was*!"<sup>2</sup>

In my opinion Angell was a successful teacher and University President most of all because of his rare personality. "Extraordinary" is not too strong a word for it. It was extraordinary in itself and in the translucence which enabled others to recognize it. Convinced of this, in writing his biography I have had to be animated by the same spirit the thirty-four citizens of Burlington embodied in the note accompanying the watch they sent to Angell after he had left Burlington for Ann Arbor:

"It is not [so much] a testimonial to the College president, although we appreciate your honorable service at the head of our University; . . . nor [so much] to the citizen, though we remember well your true public spirit . . . and prompt and hearty interest in every thing which concerned our community while you were among us. It is given to the *man*."<sup>3</sup>

SHIRLEY W. SMITH

<sup>2</sup> *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press, 1951), p. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> P. 81.

SELF-PORTRAIT  
OF  
PRESIDENT JAMES B. ANGELL

*The best part of the help which a genuine teacher gives to his pupil often consists not in the formal information he communicates on this or that topic, but in the magnetism, the inspiration, the impartation of his own scholarly and truth-loving spirit. To this enkindling power he should add a kind of perpetual youthfulness, a freshness of spirit, which keeps living and warm his sympathies with the young. . .*

From the Inaugural Address

June 28, 1871





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James Burrill Angell

# *President Angell*

## *Meets the Students*

### CHAPTER I

*James B. Angell* had been in the President's chair of the University of Michigan for only a matter of days when, on September 28, 1871, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Professor Peter Collier, back at the University of Vermont, a brief account of his initial adventures. No better picture of what confronted him and of how he met it, could be presented than that offered in his letter. Yet one who later saw him almost daily for eighteen years is startled by the two words, "fearful solicitude." An agitation of such depth is so foreign to the tranquil, cheerful serenity his associates knew, that the phrase comes as almost a shock. He wrote:

My dear Collier,<sup>1</sup>

I had so much talk with you about my anticipated difficulties here, that you may be interested in hearing of my first week's experiences. It has of course been a week of fearful solicitude, but has come out thus far so well that I think I ought to be satisfied.

You know that it has been the custom to be very disorderly here, before and after, not to say during, chapel exercises, and especially the first few days of the year the chapel became a bedlam. For 20 years the custom has been growing, and no President had been able to put it down, though the officers were so disgusted that they did not come to prayers, or but rarely.

On the 20th, the first day, they began as usual, singing, throwing missiles, etc—before we went in. I did not officiate. After prayers I made a brief address (not referring to the disorder) which was well received.

<sup>1</sup> On September 27, he wrote a letter very similar to this one, to his father-in-law, Dr. Caswell.



But on going out, the boisterousness was resumed. The next morning I went in early. Soon some Sophs got ready to throw nuts at the Freshmen. I immediately, kindly, but firmly, requested them to desist. They did so, and that was the last of that. The janitor afterwards picked up a large quantity of missiles under the seats. I did not attempt that morning to stop the shouting, only the missiles, but there was not much shouting. The next morning there was not a particle of disorder of any kind, the exercises were as orderly and beautiful as could be (they have a capital choir). At the close I took occasion to make some remarks on the general subject of this old disorder which were taken in the best spirit. And from that time till now the service has been as quiet as yours at B[urlington]. I even wonder that 500 can go down one long staircase<sup>2</sup> with so little friction—indeed with none at all yet. The Professors seem surprised and gratified, and nearly all come to prayers every day. The whole bearing of the students to me has been all I could ask. Of course this reform may not last, but so far it is very encouraging. The Sophs, I hear, had got ready to rush the Freshmen the first or second morning, but I had continued to detain the Freshmen in chapel and so the chance was lost. Now the Freshman class is so big that the Sophs, I think, dare not pitch in.

We have had up to date, 222 applications for entrance—about 200 to the Freshman class—about 17 women. We shall probably throw off 25, leaving the class about 175. But more will probably come in. The Exams were splendidly rigid. We turned off several who would certainly have got in to any of several New England colleges, and most of those admitted were conditioned. There are some excellent Professors and the boys are worked pretty hard, I think, though I am going into recitations to learn more of that. There seem to be no cliques in the Faculty, though of course there is difference of opinion in so large a number. I find several unsettled questions, which have been hung up awaiting me. It is fortunate I did not attempt to teach this term. My time is fully occupied with administrative work and looking into things. We are fully settled in the house. Socially, we cannot yet make Burlington good here. How grieved I was to hear of the death of Professor Benedict. Sarah received the newsy paper you sent us. I sent a report of Regent's meeting to you in a paper, chiefly to show you our financial exhibit. The receipts \$104,000 are \$12,000 more than usual, owing to the exceptional things. But I feel confident that if we can get the Homeopathic matter settled, we can get liberal help from the State.

<sup>2</sup> In the old North Building, i.e., Mason Hall, probably.

I see very little chance of my being able to get away for the wedding. There is a mountain of work to dig through.

Yours truly  
J. B. Angell

There we have it all! First: interest in the student body, in internecine wars and hardworked in the arts of peace; then the faculty; the University, in favorable comparison with the eastern schools he knew; religion; finances; Ann Arbor; the rampant homeopathic problem prophetic of other contentions in future years; and his home and family. These and similar matters were to demand his care and guidance for the coming thirty-eight years, except for the international diplomatic interludes.

A reviewer of *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan* criticized Michigan alumni for "venerating President Angell almost to the point of deification." It is not the purpose of the present book particularly to concern itself with this impeachment.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, certainly not a true bill in so far as it relates to the present generation of Michigan alumni, to whom "Prexy Angell" is but little more than a name a bit nearer (for all they know) than the names of Tappan, Haven, Adams, Frieze, Tyler, White, and others. It is a name entwined in legends of Michigan handed down by fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts, even grandparents. It is the hope of the author that his book may sow in the minds of those who read it some small knowledge of the life on which the so-called "Angell legend" was so firmly and enduringly and honestly established by the multitude of those who knew and loved him.

It must be remembered that in his old age he was not allowed to leave the University when he thought it wise and sought to do so. He was loved too much to be allowed to depart. The Regents held that while someone else might be elected to the presidency, no one could take *his place* in the hearts of the students, the alumni, or the people in general. It must not be overlooked, also, that in those ante-Carnegie Foundation days the University had no retirement system, and there were a number of professors of distinguished past and of age not much below the President's who continued on in positions of at least defensive influence. Unquestionably, one result of all this was that in Dr. Angell's later years the University advanced at a somewhat retarded pace. History records few instances where old men have plotted revolutions or led brisk advances. To old men change and decay too often are synonymous.

<sup>3</sup> After rereading the manuscript, the author admits that he is not so sure of this statement of purpose.



The old President loved the alumni singly and in groups, but he felt nervous about what they might do if organized. He was always ready to address gatherings of his fellow citizens, but university extension was something to be long considered before doing more about it than appointing a committee. These problems and others, as organization of the Graduate School, active encouragement of research, and the introduction of novel fields of study, were left for President Hutchins, who, even at sixty-three, so promptly and vigorously attacked them. But, as will appear in a later chapter, even in these years Angell was gathering men to fill the places of the veterans who had thus far brought the University of Michigan to the status unquestionably accorded it.

It may be that the *comparatively* slow advances made by the University of Michigan between 1898, when President Angell returned from Turkey, and the final acceptance of his resignation in 1909, did not cost the University so much as was gained in return. Nature, in its winters, for example, provides in many forms illustrations of growth by pause. So these costs must be measured against the traditions of affection for him and for his University bequeathed by his students of those years no less than by those of his prime. It was impossible, in the very nature of things, that Michigan should continue unrivaled as all the other splendid universities grew up around her with achievements of their own. But nowhere has there arisen a figure like his at which children of the other great houses sometimes find themselves gazing with a sort of jealous longing.

It should be interesting to see from what sources he came. In advance it may be said, however, that the Angell family forebears explain little beyond his serenely acquisitive mind and his love, along with shrewd understanding, of his fellow men.



# *The Angell Stock*

## *Takes Root in America*

### CHAPTER II

*O*n a November day in 1635, at a session of the General Court of Massachusetts, Mr. Roger Williams, who was pastor of a Salem church and who had "broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions, against the authority of magistrates" . . . was ordered to depart out of the jurisdiction within six weeks next ensuing. He was not to return without permission of the court—something quite unlikely to be vouchsafed him. The court was made up of magistrates and ministers, and all of the ministers with a single exception deemed him guilty and deserving of the penalty. In this they antagonized several of the laymen who were less severe in their judgment. Here in small compass at an early date the principle of separation of church and state finds a telling argument.<sup>1</sup>

A respite until the milder weather of spring should make banishment less likely to prove a death sentence was later granted him on condition he should keep his mouth closed and his pen dry in the interim. This proved too large an order for Williams to deliver, and a posse was sent to bring him to Boston, there to be placed on a ship sailing for England. But the not friendless minister heard of the plan, and with three days' leeway he plunged into the January wilderness, savage both in its weather and its humanity. So "the law" was baffled.

For two extremely important reasons this was a fortunate escape. In the first place, Williams' happy relations with the Indian tribes, already far better than those of the colonists in general, became even more friendly during his winter's stay. The very people who had banished

<sup>1</sup> Samuel G. Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (New York, 1859), I, pp. 37-38.

him, within less than a year came to need his help, when the Pequot Indians, relentlessly unfriendly, sought an alliance with the Narragansets. Such a union would have been extremely serious for the little colonies, and they asked Williams to try to prevent it. He tried and succeeded.<sup>2</sup> The Pequots, going it alone, were completely erased from the scene—even to their name. The Pequot River, by legislative act, became the Thames, and the Pequot town was named New London.

The second reason for regarding Roger Williams' escape as a blessing of God—for Englishmen if not Pequots—lies in his famous "Compact" that marked the divorcement for all time in his new Providence Plantations of church from state. This document, the first of its kind in America, and doubtless much more territory could be taken in, was adopted early in 1637. It reads: "We whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town fellowship, and such others whom they shall admit unto them, *only in civil things*" (italics ours).

Among the thirteen signers were five who signed by their mark, and one of these five was Thomas Angell. If he could not write at that stage, he must later have acquired the ability. From him, eight generations later, was to come James Burrill Angell, college professor, metropolitan editor, university president, and international diplomat.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-96.

# *From Providence*

## *to Scituate*

### CHAPTER III

*The Thomas Angell*, who signed the famous Compact, was England born. The date is believed to be about 1618. The *Angell Genealogy*<sup>1</sup> mentions a tradition that he was the son of Henry Angell of Liverpool and that at the age of twelve he went to London and thereafter was on his own. The first reliable word of him that has come down records that in 1631 he came to Boston in the ship "Lyon," Captain Pearce, as a servant or apprentice to Roger Williams, with whose fortunes his own were thereafter closely linked. It was not unusual for youngsters or others of small means to come to the colonies as dependents and to work out later the expense of their passage. After arrival the Williams-Angell pair stayed in Boston for a brief period and then removed to Salem. They remained there together till the Williams persecution period sent him into his wilderness flight.

Thomas Angell was one of the four persons named by Williams as his companions in his first settlement at Seekonk, and one of five who were with him on his removal to the Providence Plantations. Angell's name, perhaps because he was still a minor, does not appear in the 1637 list of thirteen original proprietors of Providence. It did not, however, prevent the assignment of land to him. He was among the fifty-four to whom personal ownership of realty was granted by a "division" made in 1638; nor had his youth prevented his signature to the Compact in 1637.<sup>2</sup> From then on the name of Angell has been a part of Rhode Island history.

<sup>1</sup> Avery F. Angell, *Genealogy of the Descendants of Thomas Angell Who Settled in Providence, 1636* (Providence, 1872).

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Oscar S. Straus, Angell's successor as Minister to Turkey, dated



The eight generations in direct line to James Burrill Angell were:

1) Thomas	b. 1618 (?)	— d. 1695 (?) <sup>3</sup>
2) John	1646	1720
3) Thomas	1672	1744

It was this second Thomas who removed from Providence to a farm in Scituate, twelve miles to the west. Besides operating his farm, he built the famous tavern which he and the four generations following were to carry on and to which James B. refers in his *Reminiscences*<sup>4</sup> as playing an important part in his training for life.

4) Jeremiah	b. 1707	d. 1786
5) Andrew	1742	1792
6) Charles	1775	1821

Charles built a new and larger tavern and residence.

7) Andrew A.	1802	1865
8) James Burrill	1829	1916

Much of the material for the present chapters has been drawn from the 210-page *Angell Genealogy*. The author, Avery F. Angell, was a descendant of Jeremiah through a younger brother of Andrew.<sup>5</sup> Avery F. seems to have been of a philosophical turn and encouraged himself to his task by quoting Burke: "People will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestry." He comments thus on the clan as a whole: "I regard it the greatest mistake of the Angells, but by no means peculiar to them, that they have put too low an estimate upon the education of their children. It is a fact of no small interest, that, of the few who have been favored with a liberal education, every one has distinguished himself in his chosen pursuit." Perhaps the phrenologist's report mentioned later in these pages and humorously referred to in James B. Angell's *Reminiscences* as influencing the family toward educating him was, in retrospect, a great contribution to the University of Michigan.

April 27, 1896: "I can imagine no greater pride of birth than to be descended from one of the thirteen persons who framed the first charter of a political community, establishing the great principle of the separation of church from state."

<sup>3</sup> Providence, R. I., has two streets, Thomas St. and Angell St., named in honor of the signer of the Compact. When he lived in Providence, James B. Angell's house was on Angell Street.

<sup>4</sup> *The Reminiscences of James Burrill Angell* (New York: Longmans, Green, & Company, 1912).

<sup>5</sup> There is no copy of the *Angell Genealogy* in the University of Michigan Library, but the copy in the Burton Collection of Detroit was made available.

Like all genealogists Avery F. had to collect his data in part from the memories of the aged and from family traditions, and when he feels more than the doubt that always attends evidence thus gathered, he does not hesitate to say so. Nor does he avoid the commonly irresistible temptation of the elderly in all periods to contrast the laxity, lack of seriousness, and the extravagance of the generation he saw about him in 1870 with the "simplicity and sober habits of the fathers." He concludes these reflections with the view that "If we sow to the wind, we shall reap of the whirlwind."

On an early page of his *Reminiscences* Dr. Angell remarked: "The land, or a portion of it, on which Thomas settled in Scituate, was held and occupied continuously by his descendants until after the death of my father in 1864. Representatives of the Angell family are numerous in Rhode Island. . . . They have been found chiefly in the ranks of plain farmers, mechanics, and tradesmen gaining by industry and integrity an honest living, but winning no particular distinction." In going through the *Genealogy* one is struck by the number of butchers and meat dealers along with farmers, tavern keepers, and numerous trades. Frequent mention is made of gifts of farms or residences by fathers to their children. The Angells were a substantial and intelligent, if not ordinarily a highly educated breed.

Continuing, the *Reminiscences* records that members of the Angell family had nearly always been found in the state legislature, and two had gone further. Colonel Israel Angell, of one of the offshoot branches, was one of these two. He commanded a Rhode Island regiment in the Revolution, saw active service in battles, and afterward received a gold medal for bravery from Lafayette and another one from General Washington. His pen was the equal of his sword, for the commissioner of pensions in 1865 displayed a regimental muster roll in Colonel Israel Angell's own hand and pronounced it "one of the finest specimens of penmanship in the Washington Archives."<sup>6</sup> James B. Angell surely never emulated his early cousin in this respect; during his editorial days in Providence he must have come under the influence of that degenerate penman, Horace Greeley. Colonel Israel was also distinguished in another field; he had a family large even for colonial days—seventeen children in all, and a total of three wives all of whom he survived. He was paying court to a fourth lady when this final romance was cut off by his death in his ninety-second year. There was a man!

The second member of the family singled out in the *Reminiscences*

<sup>6</sup> *Angell Genealogy*, pp. 80-81.



as of more than usual distinction was Joseph Kinnicutt Angell, who lived from 1794 to 1857. He descended from the second son of the first Thomas. His middle name came from his mother, Amey Kinnicutt. He was a lawyer, though he never practiced after a trip to England, where he failed to establish heirship of the American Angells to an English estate. Later, he wrote and edited legal publications, many of which are most respectfully recorded in legal bibliographies of the time and are quoted by such authorities as Lord Brougham and Chancellor Kent. He was the first reporter to the Rhode Island Supreme Court.

Mayhap it is worthy of mention that the first Thomas Angell, who made his own way from age twelve, was in 1652 elected as one of six commissioners to make his colony's laws. He was re-elected, and then a year or two later was listed as a farmer and a constable. He continued in this office for many years, a place more highly honored three hundred years ago than it is today. He made a will dealing generously with his wife and fixing matters so that his sons would be equally good to their mother. Nevertheless, he provided that if she married again, "the same day of her marriage it should go to [his] son James." It is not surprising, perhaps, that there is no record of the lady's contracting a second union.

Of John Angell, son of the first Thomas, little is preserved, save that he was the last of this branch of the family to live out his life in Providence proper, that he was a farmer, and that he died without making a will—certainly a simple life record. Legend has it, however, that he was a man of powerful physique. His great grandson, Enoch Angell, recorded that on one occasion his horse being unable to bear the burden he put upon it, John took the load on his own back and carried it to his destination. At another time, said Enoch, he was carrying four bushels of salt up a stairway. The load was not beyond his powers but was too much for the stairs, which collapsed with some injury to John's body but none to his pride.

With the second Thomas the Angell habitat is transferred to Scituate.



# *The Five Tavern*

## *Generations*

### CHAPTER IV

*O*f Thomas, the tavern builder and the first of its five family proprietors, not much more is known than of his father. He was, it is said, "educated as a farmer and carpenter." He married Sarah Brown. He used slave labor to some degree. He made the tavern which he built in 1710 serve him in broadening his acquaintance and his political influence. Town meetings were held there. Under contract with the town he built a nearby bridge on the railing of which an American secretary of state was later to carve his distinguished name. He gave farms to his children and for the married sons he built two-story houses. For his bachelor son, Jonathan, he appropriately built only a one-story house.

Jeremiah, oldest son of Thomas, succeeded to the tavern on his father's death in 1744. Unlike his Samson-like grandfather he was small—shorter than any of the three wives he married. His first two sons, like so many Rhode Islanders, followed the sea and ultimately were swallowed up by it. Jeremiah was enterprising in both material and intellectual matters. He became a justice of the peace and a sort of local Solomon in peaceable settlements outside of court of the disputes which arose even in the tolerant atmosphere of Rhode Island. The *New England Genealogical Register* (Volume 21) records the following unique marriage certificate issued by him, the unusual location and costume attending the ceremony being supposed, under an old English law, to exempt the husband from liability for his wife's debts contracted previous to the union:

"I hereby certify that Isaac Howard, of Scituate, in the county of Providence, &c. took Hepsozed Darbee, a poor widow woman, as she

came to him in the King's highway, in her shift, in said Scituate aforesaid, to be his wife, and that they, the said Isaac and the said Hepsozed, were lawfully joined together in marriage the 7th day of April, 1770, in the aforesaid highway, in the presence of Capt. Thomas Fay, Benjamin Wells and others, before me the subscriber,

Jeremiah Angell  
Justice of the Peace"

It would seem that the good, peace-loving justice was willing to go a long way to block lawsuits that might otherwise be expected.

Andrew, Jeremiah's eldest son, naturally succeeded to the tavern property. The record shows, however, that his management began before his father's death and a few years previous to the Revolutionary War. By shutting off commerce on the sea, the war greatly benefited the business of the country taverns through the increase in traffic along the land highways. More of this will appear in a later chapter. Andrew was much respected in the community as a successful man of business, generous and charitable. This gave him no particular distinction among the Angell clan—not nearly so much in those days as the fact that he had but two children. He left the north half of his land, 206 acres, to the younger son, and to the elder the 206 acres on which stood the tavern-residence.

Charles Angell did not immediately take up the duties of landlord, as after his father's death in 1792, his mother rented the tavern for a few years. In April, 1800, he contracted one of the Angell marriages with women of the Aldrich family, and very soon thereafter he actively took over as innkeeper in addition to being a farmer. He must have been one of those his grandson had in mind when referring to holders of public office. Charles was for years president of the town council, was several times a member of the General Assembly, and was for a term judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He died at the early age, for Angells, of forty-six.

Andrew A. Angell was only nineteen when he succeeded to the farm and tavern. When he died on October 15, 1865, at the age of nearly sixty-three, his son wrote in the *Providence Journal*: "The sickness, which has at last terminated the life of Mr. Angell, was long and painful. But he endured all his sufferings with a serenity, resignation and patience which we never saw surpassed. No murmur or complaint escaped his lips, even to the very last. With that kindness of heart and that thoughtful regard for others, which characterized his whole life, he seemed



chiefly fearful in his periods of acutest suffering and even in his dying hours, lest he should cause some one unnecessary trouble.

"His was a quiet and uneventful life. The fierce strifes and sharp competitions of the busy world had no attractions for him. Fond of the seclusion and tranquility of his farm, he knew no spot so dear to him as those acres, which his ancestors had cultivated for nearly two centuries, and on which he passed all his days. A most affectionate husband and father he found his chief joys in the bosom of his family. With a most modest estimate of his own powers, he avoided rather than sought public offices of trust and responsibility. He did, however, consent several times, though generally in opposition to his wishes, to come to the General Assembly as a representative from his town. Yet he kept himself well informed in respect to public affairs, and did his full share as a citizen in aiding beneficial public enterprises and in securing the triumph of the political principles of which he approved. He was a Democrat prior to 1842. He then took a very active part with the Law and Order party, and afterwards labored for the success of the Whig and Republican parties. He was a man of few words, but his remarks were generally sententious and to the point. He thought well before he spoke. He formed his opinions with caution, but held them with great tenacity. Sterling good sense and sound practical judgment were the prominent qualities of his mind.

"This peaceful and unpretending life was marked by a kindliness, a modesty, an integrity, a scrupulous truthfulness, a nice sense of honor, which won for Mr. Angell the affection, the confidence and the respect of all who knew him, and wielded an influence, whose power he certainly underestimated. His death causes a sincere grief far beyond the limits of his family circle."

This father, as the son saw and esteemed him, must have had no small influence in shaping the ideals of the son in his wider field.

James Burrill Angell's mother was Amey Aldrich, whom Andrew A. married on September 3, 1827. She long outlived her husband. There is a photograph of her in a group of the intermarried James B. Angell-Thomas M. Cooley families taken in Ann Arbor sometime in the mid-1880's. Her countenance seems no less wise and competent than the distinguished faces surrounding it. A granddaughter characterized her as "an up-and-coming woman, very modern in her point of view," and ascribes her alertness of mind not only to an inborn tendency but to the stimulating influence of guests of distinction who around her table at the inn discussed the problems of the day. After her husband's



death in 1865, she sold the farm and removed to Providence, but spent considerable time with her son's family in Burlington and Ann Arbor, until her death in 1894 at the age of eighty-seven.

The impression must be very strong that the infusion of Aldrich blood into the substantial, tranquilly dependable Angell line had a large part in the formation of James B. Angell's intellectual vitality and moral optimism—his lifetime habit of "greeting the unseen with a cheer"—not a loud cheer, but, anyway, cheerfully. The progenitor of the Aldrich family in Rhode Island, George Aldrich, came over from England in 1631, and the two lines descending from his two sons have produced United States Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, Winthrop W. Aldrich of the Chase Bank of New York City and now ambassador to Great Britain, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, and numerous others worthy of honorable mention in American history. President Angell paid Amey more than the ordinary tribute of son to mother. And it must not be overlooked that his grandfather Charles Angell had, like his father, "married an Aldrich."<sup>1</sup>

The oldest son of Andrew A. and Amey Aldrich Angell was born in the tavern on January 7, 1829. His name was in honor of James Burrill, an early United States senator from Rhode Island. There were to be seven more children, two of whom did not survive beyond infancy.

The annals of the Angell family of Rhode Island farmers and inn-keepers clearly contradict the reference by a recent historian<sup>2</sup> of the University to James B. Angell as "a New England aristocrat."

<sup>1</sup> Governor Henry Howard of Rhode Island wrote to Angell on January 8, 1900: "Well, Andrew Angell was a pretty good man too, I can tell you. I knew him best in the legislature. Very quiet, but solid and true. And your mother. I used to think she was the brightest woman I ever knew."

<sup>2</sup> *Not* Wilfred B. Shaw.

# *The Famous*

## *Angell Tavern*

### CHAPTER V

*J*ames B. Angell always regarded the tavern as a sort of educational institution that contributed liberally to his development. "Through the period of my boyhood," he says in his *Reminiscences*, "the number of travellers who sought accommodations in the spacious house which my grandfather erected in 1810, was very considerable. In earlier days, the town meetings were held at the tavern. In my own time, the military gatherings—the 'General Trainings'—were held in the intervalles near by; political meetings, occasionally a justice's court, were held in a large hall which formed a part of the house. Compared with the seclusion of the ordinary farmer boy's life, it will readily be seen that life here was very stirring. I have always felt that the knowledge of men I gained by the observations and experiences of my boyhood in the country tavern has been of the greatest service. Human nature could be studied in every variety, from that of the common farm labourer to travellers of the highest breeding and refinement. The eminent political speakers were always entertained at our table, and some of them were very helpful friends in my later life. If, as I have sometimes been assured, I have any power of adaptation to the society of different classes of men, I owe it in no small degree to these varied associations of my boyhood."

The original building erected in 1710 lasted one hundred years. In it were entertained, among others, George Washington and Dr. Franklin. While Lafayette and his staff were quartered in the tavern, his regiment camped in tents across the road in weather so cold that one soldier froze to death and his body was temporarily interred in a snow drift. The larger house that followed the first one endured until fire destroyed it in its prime in July, 1862. A family letter says that it was so substantially built that it took twenty-four hours to burn.



Its location was on the turnpike leading into Providence from Norwich and other Connecticut points. Always many farmers took their produce to market over this road. But during the Revolution and especially the War of 1812, when the sea lanes were closed, the business of the taverns was increased manifold. The merchants of Boston and Providence employed farmers with ox teams to bring freight overland from New York, Philadelphia, and even Baltimore. Oxen were the most economical motive power. They walked about as fast as horses, they could work longer, were easier keepers, and they were not the prey of thieves. Let no one say that business men of those days lacked departments of research. They even "calculated" that yokes and chains were cheaper than leather harnesses.

This war traffic stirred up the poets and balladeers. John Bach McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*<sup>1</sup> records extracts from two products of 1814:

Ye wagoners of Freedom,  
 Whose chargers chew the cud,  
 Whose wheels have braved a dozen years,  
 The gravel and the mud;  
 Your glorious hawbucks yoke again  
 To take another jag,  
 And scud through the mud,  
 Where the heavy wheels do drag;  
 Where the wagon creak is long and low,  
 And the jaded oxen lag.  
 Columbia needs no wooden walls,  
 No ships where billows swell;  
 Her march is like a terrapin's,  
 Her home is in her shell,  
 To guard her trade and sailors' rights,  
 In woods she spreads her flag.

and:

Our march is on the turnpike road,  
 Our home is at the Inn.

McMaster further has a good deal of fun with the listings of arrivals and departures of wagons named like ships, recording their captains and mates, and quoting from editors of "ox-marine" news sheets. There was business for the taverns of those war days! But it could not last. One teamster, probably regarded by some of his fellow citizens with little sympathy as a war profiteer, found himself in New York with no return cargo—all due to the sudden arrival from Ghent of news of peace.

<sup>1</sup> (New York, 1895), IV, p. 221.



Even the peace-time cycle of normal prosperity in due time ran its course. Shipping multiplied again, railroads developed. And another factor that did not cut down travel did reduce a previously important source of income. This was the influence of the great temperance reform. Not only were there fewer customers at the bars, but the business was not in such good repute as formerly, and the better men, among them Andrew A. Angell, dropped out of that branch of the innkeeper's occupation. The Angell tavern, like others, became less and less a center of local congregation and more and more a place for the accommodation of visitors to the community. Andrew A., however, owned the stage line from Providence to Hartford; this helped to keep up his traveler patronage.

A family letter written by Mrs. Amy Collier Montague, daughter of President Angell's sister Caroline, describes the later days of the tavern before it burned, its very site to be submerged ultimately under the waters of a public reservoir.<sup>2</sup> The house was planned in the manner of most taverns, a long facade with entrance door, and to the left at the corner, another entrance to the barroom. On the upper floor were bedrooms and a ballroom. A long row of great maple trees in front gave it its name of "Maple Shade." Mrs. Montague's mother made a small painting of the facade which is reproduced.

Before bidding goodbye to the five-generation Angell tavern, there is a semiromantic postlude. The late John Hay in his student days at Brown wrote many letters to Hannah Angell, another sister of James B., and was a frequent visitor at her home and that of her brother in Providence. On the hand rail of the bridge across the narrow Ponoganset River built by Thomas Angell years before, he carved her initials "H. A." and to these he added a "Y," an act that might at the moment have been regarded as prophetic. But whether there be prophecies, they shall fail, and Hannah not too long afterward became Mrs. James Coggeshall. The wedding ceremony took place in the inn. The fates seemed to have regarded this event as a fitting climax in the life of the old tavern, for not long afterward fire destroyed it. The Hay letters to Hannah Angell have been preserved in a volume privately printed in 1938 entitled *A College Friendship*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Angell once humorously attributed this submersion to Baptist influence.

<sup>3</sup> A copy is in the Clements Library, University of Michigan.

# *Boyhood Schools*

## *and the Means of Education*

### CHAPTER VI

*T*he educational contacts with the outside world provided by the tavern were only a background for Angell's more formal education. He remembered the very first step, when he had learned the letter *J*, used as a big capital at the opening of a chapter in a law book once owned by his grandfather, and was made to understand that this was the first letter of his own name. He speaks of a kindly uncle—one gets the idea that all of the Angell family and connection were kindly—who taught him the alphabet from this law book. In the natural course of things he went to the district school, sometimes being taken on the front of his father's saddle or being shepherded by an older boy, hired for the duty, when he walked.

In the schoolhouse the older pupils sat on a bench and faced a broad shelf, serving for a desk and running around the outer wall of the schoolroom. Smaller children were placed near the center of the room.

If the discipline of this district school was as harsh as has been recorded by many of the institution's historians, James B. Angell makes no mention of it in his *Reminiscences*, nor, indeed, of similar severities in any of the later schools he attended, with the possible exception of Isaac Fiske's "Quaker School."

At about eight years of age he came under the care of this Quaker, who had opened a little day and boarding school in the neighborhood. This exacting<sup>1</sup> but kindly teacher was no great believer in class recita-

<sup>1</sup> In an article entitled "How I was Educated," *Forum*, January, 1887, Angell refers to this teacher's disciplines: "The ferule and the rawhide were not excluded by the adherence of the teacher to the peaceful doctrines of George Fox, and his hot and hasty temper was not altogether checked by the soothing meditations of the First Day and Fifth Day meetings."



tions, but spent most of his school day going from pupil to pupil making personal contacts, explaining, correcting, encouraging, and setting new tasks on completion of old ones. As in most schools, the time-honored "three r's" were the larger part of the program, and with Fiske arithmetic and slightly more advanced mathematics had first call on his attention. Angell actually studied surveying before he was twelve. But this good teacher realized that as he could teach no foreign language, either ancient or modern, this pupil at least, ought to go where he could study Latin, and he thus advised parents Andrew and Amey.

So at twelve the oldest Angell boy went away to boarding school at Seekonk, three miles east of Providence, just over the edge of Massachusetts. Though the distance from Scituate was only fifteen miles, it was a very far country in the eyes of his mother. At this school it was found that in arithmetic he was so far ahead of the boys of his age that he was assigned to devote his whole attention to Latin under the tutelage of the principal's sister. In three months this wise and able woman had him up with the other boys in this subject. He was happy not only in the achievement but in the achieving. From this time on he speaks more and more often of his "delight" in the studies through which his lighted mind was finding the way.

But at the end of one term a new school was found for him at Smithville Seminary in North Scituate, only five miles from home. It was before the influence of Horace Mann had dotted the country with the inviting high schools of later years. He studied at Smithville for about two years, under the Reverend Hosea Quinby, a graduate of Waterville College in Maine, and Mr. S. L. Weld, a graduate of Brown University. While the instruction would not be regarded as modern today, these men could and did interest and stimulate their pupils. Writing to Angell nearly four decades later a schoolmate,<sup>2</sup> notably observant outside the regular curriculum, asked: "Do you remember the contrast between the prayers of the two? Mr. Quinby was stately, moderate, unimpassioned, while Mr. Weld went at it as if it was purely a business transaction between the Almighty and himself as the guardian of his pupils, and to be finished up with the fewest words and in the shortest time possible. Mr. Weld's 'Amen' was uttered much as a man says 'Good Bye' from a moving railway train." And the President's boyhood friend ingenuously observed that he liked Weld best.

Another classmate also remembered the Smithville days. J. S. Dennis wrote to Angell from Chicago in the early '80's that if his youngest son

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Henry Howard, January 4, 1879.



could pass the entrance examinations, he wanted him to come to Michigan. Evidently his examinations were passed as the son, Louis M. Dennis, graduated in 1885 and became a distinguished professor of chemistry at Cornell. Not all the Smithville boys of Angell's time were good or attained goodness, however, as the senior Dennis mentioned one who "low and loose at Smithville, had gone to Chicago to become lower and looser."

From the seminary period there survive at least eight of Angell's "compositions." These are what we should expect, no doubt, from a boy whose mind was expanding in a new and expanding country and in an oratorical age. Both the boy and the country were trying their wings, were enjoying the experience, and were excusably much impressed with themselves. The subjects selected by young James B. Angell included: "War," "Murder," "Slavery," "Northern 'Slavery,'" and "Progress and Destiny of our Country." The American eagle was a prominent figure in most of these verbal eruptions. Perhaps the very stratospheric tip-top of the eagle's flight was reached in an effort on Washington's birthday in 1843 for "An Exhibition of the Philomathean Fraternity." Here are selections from "Our National Banner":

Who can gaze upon that banner which is the emblem of American Independence as it lazily moves through the aerial regions when fanned by the gentle zephyrs, or proudly flutters in the breeze, without letting his imagination go back, through the vicissitudes which our republic has undergone since that bleak day, when our forefathers first set foot on the dreary, rock-bound shore of New England? or even back to the time when naught save the Indian's canoe broke the peace of our mirror-like lakes, or stemmed the mighty torrents that madly rolled and tumbled down our rivers and rushed into the bosom of old Ocean? Who can look upon the "stars and stripes" as they flutter o'er the heads of the free, without reflecting that they are allowed to float there, by the almost superhuman efforts of a *Washington*—whose name, floating down the stream of time, accompanied by the acclamations of millions of people, shall rush into the broad ocean of Eternity to be praised with increasing rapture,—by the labors of a Jefferson, Adams, Hancock and numbers of their compatriots, whose fame shall live till earth and skies dissolve, and mingle into one? . . . Although Jove's own bird now carries the motto of our country unrestrained, over every sea and explored land, yet, there *was* a time, there *was* a time, when the haughty British Lion strove, but strove in vain, to subject the "King of Birds" to his despotism. . . .

And after this failure, after the hardy yeomanry had driven the "Lion" from the shores of this country, and affairs were amicably settled, and America had for several years stood a free and independent nation, again did Britain strive to trample the rights of freemen beneath them, by impressing seamen; & again was the star-spangled banner thrown to the breeze upon the forts of cotton under which, Jackson and Carroll, aided by the "sons of freedom,"

defied the powers of the tyrannical Pakenham [sic], and the proud sons of Old England, who had crossed the "briny deep" for the accursed purpose of taking away those rights from freemen, which their fathers had so valiantly earned in the Revolution. . . . Let us hail this banner as the emblem of American Independence, and look upon it with feelings of veneration for our forefathers, who signalized themselves to have their banner float free o'er their heads, to have their "stars" shine in the firmament of Religion, Knowledge and Virtue, and their "stripes" like the milky way, to adorn and beautify it. May it never be rent in twain by the destructive hand of Civil Discord; . . .

Just before he reached the age of fourteen, there unexpectedly entered his life the influence, already alluded to, from a perhaps fallible, but nevertheless effective source. A traveling phrenologist of contemporary repute, one O. S. Fowler, whose name may have come down in tradition to some elderly readers, visited the seminary and "read the heads" of several pupils. Angell in the *Reminiscences* spoke of Fowler's report on his own "examination" as "ridiculous in its exaggerated estimate of my gifts." Even an idolatrous admirer of the President would not dispute his estimate of the substantial weight of this document which is still in existence. Looking back we can see that the "professor" did hit on some traits we recognize as existing later and at least potentially existent in the boy. So many qualities were included in the report of his study of the Angell skull that some of them had to be real.

Some extracts may be quoted, with original composition, punctuation, and spelling: "Your brain is too much for your body. Beware or you will kill yourself by study . . . Beware of consumption for your lungs are too weak for that powerful brain . . . learn with astonishing facility are rarely equalled in point of *memory*; . . . might make a real *orator*, speaks with *emphasis* & feeling, . . . never trifles are far above your years; will exert a commanding & a good influence in society, & can become *preeminent* provided you keep your health . . . you study too hard; have great *application* dwell upon things till they are *completed*; . . . a warm friend very affectionate, very honorable, & allow nothing to disgrace you; will take good care of money; will not falshify, yet often do not give a strait answer; are judicious; have high *moral* character; are pure in heart; a stickler for the just & *true* & *fair*; have little belief without the *proof* very obliging, a real *philanthropist*; will do good with all your might; are ingenious; I recommend you to use tools; show great conversational powers; are a real wit; see through things at a glance make most excellent remarks; are great in *contriving* managing, adopting means to ends; & a great questionasker & your questions are deep ones; are a real critic, & show up absurdities at once; also explain well; have



many friends; have a taking way with you which always get you what you want; love the beautiful in nature & have a most enquiring mind . . . your desire to *see* nature witness *experiments*, and store your mind with all kinds of *knowledge* is great beyond description. I rarely find equal talents, & moral worth combined."

All this, and much more, at thirteen! And all for fifty cents, as the notation on the document records its cost!

In spite of the excesses of this characterization, and in spite of the recognition of its absurdities at least in later years by its subject, experience with parents and parental pride induces in one's mind the thought that the father and mother of the young prodigy could not quite rid themselves of the feeling that after all "there must be something in phrenology" and that they must not fail to see that their eldest son had the advantages which nature intended for him.

It was decided that for a time at least he should have the outdoor life that had been recommended for him, so from early spring to late fall in the years 1843 and 1844<sup>3</sup> he did as nearly as possible a man's work in the fields and elsewhere on his father's farm. He learned everything that a farm requires of the men who own or work on farms. And he learned by doing—with the hoe, the scythe and cradle, and all the other implements of rural life of that day before sulky plows, seeders and cultivators, mowing machines, hay loaders, binders, threshing machines, and tractors. All through his manhood President Angell attributed to those days several valuable items of his equipment: (1) knowledge of how much backache went into a dollar as the common man had to secure his dollars; (2) the health and vigor that attended him through life; and (3) a broadened understanding of human nature that came through working side by side with men to whom nature or their circumstances had vouchsafed little of an intellectual character.

Further, his father expressed the willingness and financial ability to send him to college if he would like to receive thus his inheritance among the brothers and sisters rather than in the material forms in which presumably the other children would realize their shares. There could be no question of this son's preference.

However, he was still one year short of the minimum age at which students were admitted to Brown University. Apparently no other college received any consideration. This fact of youth together with the boy's belief that he needed some further schooling before taking on the scholastic problems that college would involve led to his spending a

<sup>3</sup> *Reminiscences*, p. 10. Yet a Smithville composition is dated June 17, 1844.



final year in the University Grammar School in Providence. Here his principal study was Latin under Henry S. Frieze, who later was to be known in University of Michigan tradition as one of the University's great teachers and one of the most influential and best loved men ever to adorn the Michigan faculty. Over two decades later it was Dr. Frieze's recollection of the ability and character of his grammar school pupil that was a substantial influence in persuading the Regents of the University that in their search for a president, James B. Angell was the one man they wanted.

In 1845, when he was sixteen, he enrolled at Brown.

# *Student at Brown*

## CHAPTER VII

*A*ngell's student days at Brown were not days of financial prosperity for the institution. Founded in 1764 as Rhode Island College, its student attendance had reached a high point of 196 in 1837, but by 1845 this total had declined to 140. Student fees, small as they individually were, in their total made up a principal source of income. The University's entire productive funds in 1841 amounted only to \$32,300, and the loss of fifty-six students, nearly 30 per cent, posed a serious problem.

Angell's bill for the final twelve-weeks term of his sophomore year, paid September 4, 1847, included: tuition, \$12; special tuition in French, \$3; use of the University library, \$1; or a total, for what might be called academic items, of \$16. Other items were: room rent, \$3; board in commons, \$24; steward's salary, \$2; servants' hire, printing, etc., \$2; and "repairs," 88¢. (It does not appear what property this mild-mannered young man had injured.) Thus there was a total for material items and services of \$31.88, or a grand total for the twelve weeks, one-third of the year, of \$47.88. The ordinary tuition would thus be \$36 per year, and the loss of fifty-six students meant a revenue decrease of a little more than two thousand dollars.

Meanwhile, after a previous cut of \$100 each, academic salaries had been restored. The President received \$1,500 per year plus a house, and the six professors approximately \$1,000 each. These men seemingly reaped their reward, even in those days of a potent dollar, in the satisfaction found in illuminating the minds of young men.

In his *Reminiscences*, Angell recalls his teachers at Brown with an enthusiasm that transmits something of its quality to the minds of his readers of today, a century later than his student days. He speaks not merely of himself; he says "*we* had the pleasure," "*we* were fired by their spirit," "*we* who hung upon his lips can never forget his narratives." Perhaps this little group of teachers *did* have a compensation that



“paid.” One had just returned from extended study in Germany. Another who had spent most of his life in Europe, in Angell’s senior year could speak at first hand of the revolutions of 1848, then raging abroad. Another, pungently critical, had the gift of making his students regard his criticisms as “the wounds of a friend.” And among the group he later was to find his father-in-law, Professor Caswell, who of all the teachers “had the strongest hold on the affections of the students.” If it be true—as it is—that a young man in search of a wife will wisely “look at her parents,” the kindly Dr. Caswell in his own character must have recommended his daughter very highly. Caswell “had the gift of making mathematics attractive to most students, and even tolerable to that inconsiderable number who had no gift or no taste for the study.”<sup>1</sup> Angell also records that later as a Brown professor, when attending faculty meetings where candidates for graduation were discussed, he found Caswell looking “with abundant charity on those who had never been able to pass the examinations in mathematics, saying amiably, ‘Let them pass. The conies are a feeble folk.’”

Caswell’s term as President of Brown began in 1868 when he was already in his seventieth year and continued until September, 1872, when he had better luck in getting his resignation accepted than his son-in-law was later to have at Michigan. The student *Brunonian* of May, 1872, records a reception at the president’s house for the senior class and includes a phrase which deserves immortality in its classic description of so many efforts to mingle student and faculty life: “The dignity and affability with which Dr. and Mrs. Caswell did the honors of the evening; the brilliant assemblage and more brilliant conversation; the interchange of greetings at the instance of the ushers; the sufficient and elegant refreshments; *the air of chastened pleasure* (italics supplied) which surrounded the scenes of the whole evening . . .” A testimonial to the apparently not entirely successful efforts of Brown authorities in Angell’s student days to introduce an “air of chastened pleasure” into all University functions is found in an appeal printed on commencement programs from 1847 to 1850: “Persons occupying pews in the church are requested not to stand upon the seats, or to converse aloud, during the exercises.”<sup>2</sup>

But it was to President Francis Wayland that Angell believed the students of Brown in the 1840’s owed their greatest debt. He was a big

<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Walter C. Bronson, *The History of Brown University* (Providence: Brown Univ., 1914), p. 236.



man, physically massive, Jovian in his features and attitude. He was not a great scholar, not a great orator, not a great writer, in the opinion of men of his time—but for sheer moral force exerted usually, though not always, in a pleasant and agreeable manner, Angell both as a student and as a mature man regarded him as unmatched within his recollection: “I have met not a few of the men whom the world has called great; but I have seldom met a man who so impressed me with the weight of his personality as did Dr. Wayland. After making due allowance for the fact that I was but a youth when I sat under his teaching, I still think that by his power of intellect, of will, and of character, he deserved to be ranked with the strongest men our country has produced.<sup>3</sup> It may be said of him as of his friend, Mark Hopkins, that his published writings do not adequately represent the man as his pupils knew him. As a teacher he was unsurpassed. His power of analyzing a subject into its simple elements and his power of happy illustration, often humorous,

<sup>3</sup> There is another and special debt which the University of Michigan owes to President Wayland in addition to his contribution to the education of President Angell. Writing in the *Forum* of February, 1887, in a series by various prominent men under the title, “How I was Educated,” Andrew D. White says: “In 1856 I returned, and met my class, assembled to take their masters’ degrees in course, at Yale. Then came the turning-point in my whole education. I had been for some time uneasy because the way did not seem clear before me; but at this Yale Commencement of 1856, while lounging with my classmates in the college yard, I heard some one say that President Wayland of Brown University, was speaking in the Alumni Hall. Going to the door, I looked within, and saw upon the platform an old man, heavy-browed, with spectacles resting upon the top of his head. Just at that moment he said, very impressively, that in his opinion the best field of work for graduates was in the West; that the country was shortly to arrive at ‘a switching-off place’ toward good or evil; that the West was to hold the balance of power, and to determine whether the country should prove a blessing or a curse in human history; and he upheld the claims of the West upon the best work of college men.

“I had never seen him before; I never saw him afterward. His speech lasted, perhaps, ten minutes; but it settled a great question for me. I went home, wrote to sundry friends that I was a candidate for the professorship of history in any Western college where there was a chance to get at students; and received two calls, one to a Southern university, which I could not accept on account of my antislavery opinions, the other to the University of Michigan, which I accepted. My old Yale friends were kind enough to tender me a position for the building up of their school of art; but my belief was in the value of historical studies. The words of Wayland rang in my ears, and I went to the University of Michigan. The work there was a joy to me from first to last. My relations with my students of that period, before I had become distracted from them by the cares of an executive position, were among the most delightful of my life. And then began, perhaps, the most real part of my education. I learned the meaning of the proverb, *Docendo disc[imus]*. I found active, energetic Western men in my classes, ready to discuss historical questions; and I found that, in order to keep up my part of such discussions and class-room duties, I must work as I had never worked before. The education I received from my classes at the University of Michigan was perhaps the most useful of all.”

were equally marked. One fourth of my classmates were Southerners. When we came to the subject of slavery in our study of moral philosophy, we discussed it for three weeks. The robust personality of Dr. Wayland was felt throughout the whole life of the institution. The discipline which was administered exclusively by him was unnecessarily rigorous, the standard of scholarship was high, the intellectual demands upon the students were exacting. For those who attained high rank the life was a strenuous one. The method pursued was specially calculated to cultivate the powers of analysis and memory. Wherever the subject permitted of such treatment, we were always required to begin the recitation by giving an analysis of the discussion in the text-book or the lecture. We were then expected to take up point after point of the lesson and recite without being aided by questions from the teacher. There was a general belief among the students, though no formal statement to that effect was made by the Faculty, that they would gain higher credit by repeating the language of the book than by reporting the substance of the thought in their own language. By dint of continued memorizing, some of the students attained to a remarkable development of the verbal memory. I think that nearly one-fourth of the men in my class in their senior year used to learn in two hours—and that after an indigestible dinner in Commons—fifteen pages of Smyth's 'Lectures on History,' so that they could repeat them with little variation from the text. The training in analysis was of very high value in teaching men to seize and hold the main points in an argument and to make points distinctly in the construction of a discourse. On looking back, I think most of the old students will agree that too much value was attached to *memoriter* recitations.”<sup>4</sup> This seems a not surprising comment.

It may be noted that President Wayland, in his own teaching, followed the rule he laid down for the faculty, that no textbooks, except in reading courses in languages, were to be brought into the recitation room either by student or professor.

To his latest day President Angell believed that “he was a very inapt pupil who passed from under Dr. Wayland's instruction without catching something of his catholic spirit, his passionate love of soul liberty, and his earnest Christian principle.”<sup>5</sup>

While it may seem out of keeping, there is recorded the fact that the Jovian president after all had at least one human weakness. A Brown

<sup>4</sup> *Reminiscences*, pp. 27–29. There seems to be some confusion here between the analytical and the memorizing methods.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.



alumnus of the Class of 1841 in the *Memories of Brown* notes of Wayland that the students always stood in fear of him, and "with reason enough, were usually in a state of apprehension. One young gentleman, whose conscience was especially cowardly that morning, was paralyzed, as he was crossing the campus, by hearing his name called in Boanergesian style. Heavens! it was the doctor who was beckoning to him! He thought hurriedly of all his misdemeanors of the week just past; for which of them was he now to be brought to judgement? What was his astonishment, his exquisite sense of relief, when the president merely said, 'C—, have you a chew of tobacco to spare?' For the doctor was a shameless consumer of the Indian weed; and some intricate speculation in philosophy or theology had been brought to a sudden standstill by an untimely vacuum in the doctor's box." <sup>6</sup>

The report to Andrew A. Angell that accompanied the term bill of his son stated that it was "the wish of the Faculty of Brown University that the standing and attainments of the students should be fully made known to their several parents and guardians." They thought the report transmitted to James B.'s parents would convey, "as correctly as is desirable, the most important information on the subject." Scholarship was graded by "excellent, very good, good, moderate, deficient"; attendance, by "perfect" down to "very irregular"; conduct, by "good, unsatisfactory, bad." During the term James B. had taken courses in Latin, Greek, French, topography, and rhetoric, besides participating in "rhetorical exercises." In all these six (out of twenty-five subjects taught in the University) he was marked "excellent," plus the figure 100 in everything except the "rhetorical exercises," wherein he was marked 94. Attendance was "perfect," and conduct, "good"—in general a student to gladden a faculty and a parent. The "94 in rhetorical exercises" is surprising in view of the record in the *History of Brown University* where it is stated that in October, 1845, "James B. Angell, Lloyd Morton and other freshmen formed a class debating society . . . which survived until January 9, 1847. It met Saturday mornings." In his own neatly kept record of the four years he computes his average of standings in all subjects as 99½, and the mark of 94 is the lowest of any recorded in the whole four years.<sup>7</sup>

The phrenologist's characterization as "careful with money" is justified by the little thirty-page account book (only twenty-two pages are

<sup>6</sup> *Memories of Brown*, ed. by Robert P. Brown (Providence: Brown Alumni Mag., 1909).

<sup>7</sup> Walter C. Bronson, *The History of Brown University* (Providence: Brown Univ., 1914). Angell graduated first in his class. The minutes of a faculty meeting in prepara-



used) in which he recorded the monetary cost of his education. He subdivided it into "term bills," "private expenses," and "expenses for clothing," though after the freshman year he seems to have concluded, logically enough, that clothing was an expense that would have had to be met anyway, and did not charge it to his education. But he recorded it.

For the whole four years his total expenditures were \$724.31, \$584.31 to the University and \$140.00 personal. This latter figure included textbooks, furniture (\$16 went for a carpet for his room), contributions, and all the various items for which people spent money even in those thrifty days. Over against these expenses there were offsetting receipts of \$191.87, made up principally of college prizes, at least one each year, to a total of \$151.50. On finishing courses he commonly sold his textbooks for various small sums, rarely for more than a dollar, and not infrequently involving the half-cent of those days. At the end of his course he disposed of furniture to the value of \$12.50. And a windfall of \$10 during his sophomore year was recorded as "Rec'd for finding Wallet."

The devotion of Angell to President Wayland withstood the latter's unbending opposition to secret societies. Angell was a member of Psi Upsilon whose chapter at Brown had been founded in 1840. He was sufficiently in earnest about it to serve with another senior as a committee to wait upon the President.<sup>8</sup> This mission must have required bold men. This committee reported informing the presidential Jove "that the society were not disposed to comply with his request [to disband], but chose rather to incur the penalty prescribed for disobedience by awaiting the action of the Faculty for its suppression." As a maneuver to avoid faculty discipline, however, the chapter voted to hold no more official meetings. Foregatherings were held informally for "literary purposes," but election and initiation of new members and other "official" business were relegated to the vacation periods, when the faculty ceased from troubling. Angell later wrote of fraternities in a note to a national convention of Psi Upsilon, in place of the expected personal appearance he

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tion for the commencement of 1849 begin as follows: "The Assignment of Parts for the Senior Class of 1849, made according to recent law of the Corporation, the rank being derived from the aggregate attainment of each Student in Scholarship, Attendance and Conduct.

Angell	99½	—The Valedictory Oration
Toman	98	—The Salutatory Oration
Tillinghast	97¾	—The Classical Oration."

His dear friend, Rowland Hazard, was fifteenth in the total class of twenty-seven.

<sup>8</sup> *Annals of Psi Upsilon, 1833-1941* (New York: Psi Upsilon, 1941), p. 98.

was prevented from making by a sudden call to Washington: "Let us all remember that there is not much abiding power in organization merely. A society is always just what its members make it by their character; nothing more, nothing less." A fraternity brother of fifteen years later called him "one of our greatest men, and a devilish good fellow." This is believed to be the only occasion in all history that this rakish adjective was ever applied to James B. Angell.

If "fraternities have changed," as doubtless they have, so too has society in general changed. To Angell of those days—as, indeed, throughout all his days—however cheerfully life was to be met, it was always real and earnest. In his *Reminiscences* he says: "During the spring of my Sophomore year there arose among the students a deep interest in personal religion. Though like most school boys I had thought with some seriousness upon religious subjects, I had been repelled by the extravagances and excitements of so-called revivals in the country towns and villages, which apparently appealed to ignorant and emotional persons rather than to the rational and intelligent. But here my thoughtful and even my merry companions addressed themselves calmly but earnestly to the great questions of determining their duty to God and of deciding with what aim and what spirit they should live. The high resolves then formed shaped the careers of a good number of the most conspicuous men in college. I think they would generally testify that they were greatly aided in that critical period of their lives by the wise counsels of Dr. Caswell and Dr. Wayland. Perhaps at no other time did the latter so deeply impress the students as when, standing in the midst of them in the old chapel, and resting one foot on a seat and his arm on the raised knee, he looked into their faces with those piercing eyes and spoke with fatherly tenderness of the divine love."<sup>9</sup>

As a result of his thinking at this time, during his senior year Angell united with the Richmond Street Congregational Church of Providence.<sup>10</sup>

The influence of President Wayland throughout his college years and his succeeding life was so great as to warrant concluding this chapter on Angell's student days at Brown with an editorial article he wrote in the *Providence Journal*, October 2, 1865, following President Wayland's death, September 30:

During the last forty years has any other life been such a force and power

<sup>9</sup> *Reminiscences*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>10</sup> The Rev. Dr. Lysander Dickerman, Brown 1851, writing in the *San Francisco Pacific*, March 31, 1880.



in this city and this State as that, which is now quenched in death? . . . His pupils will all testify that he was President in deed, as well as in name. No one could look upon his face and his form without feeling instinctively that he was born to command . . . He was not ordinarily an eloquent or even a fluent speaker. But we have never listened to more eloquent or effective appeals than we have heard from his lips in the old chapel at morning or evening prayers and in the conference meetings. He lifted his hearers as by a resistless power up to his own level and animated them with his own spirit . . . His class-room was not simply a place of recitations, but the scene of the highest intellectual enjoyment. The young men under his instruction learned not only the particular science he was teaching, but the best mode of approaching and studying any science. They learned how to use their minds . . . But Dr. Wayland's preëminent power as an instructor lay in his almost unrivalled faculty of lending moral impulses to his pupils . . . We believe it to be literally true that no student, however thoughtless, ever pursued the study of moral philosophy under Dr. Wayland without receiving moral impressions, which were never effaced . . . Life, in his view, was made up of duties to be performed. Not that he took a gloomy view of life. He was fond of good companionship. We have known few talkers more entertaining, congenial and instructive than he was. He had a fund of good stories and amusing illustrations. He had an unusually sharp eye for the ridiculous. No man had a heartier laugh. His wit was as keen as a Damascus blade. He was as quick at repartee as he was prompt with an answer in discussion. But he believed that whatever duty was to be done was to be done with earnestness and with noble aims. He had little patience with those who fill their hours with trifling pursuits or give themselves up to mere dilettantism. Meanness of soul he utterly despised, and his rebukes of it were simply terrible.

Among Angell's carefully preserved papers was found this quotation from one of President Wayland's talks: "Nothing will stand up against days' works."

# *The Southern Tour*

## CHAPTER VIII

*W*hen at *Ann Arbor* in 1896, the University celebrated the silver anniversary of President Angell's coming, one of the speakers at the dinner was Rowland Hazard of Peace Dale, Rhode Island, who began: "My sole reason for standing here is, that I am a friend of President Angell; and that friendship runs back for a good many years. It is twenty-five years older than his presidency. I well remember a day in January, 1846, when I entered the old chapel at Brown University, and took my seat in the freshman class for the first time: the first term of the year I had not been there,—I had been pursuing a partial course; but that morning—a cold, dark morning—I went and took my seat in the freshman class, and President Angell (the gentleman who sits here now was not President then) came forward and greeted me in the most cordial manner. I shall never forget the kindly spirit which animated him then, and that same spirit is the spirit which has animated him always through life up to the present time . . . . I remember very well that occasion,—we were boys then; the remembrance of that time comes over me; and as I look back with pride upon all that he has done, I feel a pleasure in shining by such reflected light. I am proud that I belong to the same State that he did, to the same college that he did, that we together have gone on through life for these last fifty years as firm friends, and [I] hope we shall continue so to the end."

That meeting of the two freshmen at Brown was the beginning of a Damon and Pythias friendship that did not end until Hazard's death in 1898. They were born in the same year. The Hazard family of Rhode Island was one of wealth, culture, and concern for fellowman both before and after Rowland Hazard. His daughter Caroline was president of Wellesley College from 1899 to 1910. "Rowland" and "Hazard" appear among the given names of the children and grandchildren of James B. Angell. Rowland Hazard was a moving spirit in the development and management of great business enterprises, among them the Solvay Proc-





The Angell Tavern



Brown University in the 1840's





James Burrill Angell as a young man



ess Company, and along with these ventures of commerce and industry he was a prime force in a multitude of activities for the public good. The concord of these two stood a test which has wrecked others of promising beginnings; for the Hazards were rich and young Angell, while in no sense in poverty, had to earn his living and for a time after graduation it was not clear to him how it could be done. Two very considerable tangible benefits were to come to him from the Hazard family in the future. While tactfully tendered as for value to be received, these could have put two less generous and frank-hearted young men into a relationship quite different from that which endured while life lasted.

At the memorial service held December 31, 1898, in the chapel at Peace Dale, which Rowland Hazard had given to the community in memory of his wife, Angell, as the speaker, was introduced simply as "his oldest and dearest friend." Some idea of what he meant to Angell appears in a few brief excerpts from the latter's address at the service: "I never knew a nobler soul. My acquaintance with him from his boyhood was as intimate as it is possible to conceive. I never knew him to do an unworthy act . . . . Some of his large gifts could not but be known to the public. But he delighted much more in giving which was not known to the public. I am sure that there are many in this town, and I know that there are not a few far away from this town, who are remembering with unspeakable gratitude to-day the timely help which he rendered them in some exigency and in so quiet a way that the world never suspected what he had done . . . . Many years ago [his company] adopted the plan of sharing its profits with its operatives . . . . His character, so sincere and truth-loving, so full of charity, found its most beautiful fruitage in his religious faith . . . . It bore the marks of the transparent Quaker spirit which came to him from his ancestors. He did not perplex himself unduly with abstruse theological problems, though he inherited from his father a decided talent for philosophic discussion. But it was the gospel of holy and beneficent living which he cherished and commended to others . . . . His intimate and chosen friends recall his friendship, so simple, so natural, so confiding, so rich, as one of the dearest possessions of their lives."<sup>1</sup>

Such a friendship between two such men is worthy of this extended consideration in the story of the life of either, for often it is by a man's friendships that he himself may be known. It is important in the life of Angell, moreover, with respect to "the southern journey" and to the two years of all-important European travel and study that followed.

<sup>1</sup> *Service in Remembrance of Rowland Hazard* (Privately printed, n. d.).

The first months after graduation were not happy ones for him. He had to work, and could find no one to work for. It was a shock after the pleasant, friendly days at Brown to feel, as he said, like Schiller who "stretched out his arms to serve the world and found he had clasped a lump of ice." The recollection was the basis of much understanding advice he gave young graduates during the next sixty years.

But before too long he got a part-time job he greatly enjoyed as assistant librarian at Brown, and another as private tutor or reader to a winning young man whose poor eyesight prevented his direct use of books. But the poor eyesight of his pupil nearly wrecked Angell's own speech organs. Even when in the spring of 1850 he contracted a heavy cold, he neglected to rest his voice from its hours of daily reading, until an inflammation fixed itself in his throat from which he perhaps never fully recovered. It was a chief cause of his giving up, ultimately, all thought of entering the Christian ministry. Also, it brought about another decision in a far-removed and humbler field, namely to grow the curious beard he thereafter wore with the purpose of giving protection to his throat. By the time beards had gradually disappeared from the American male countenance Angell had ceased to think of his own as anything at all unusual,—and besides his own acceptance of his whiskers as a matter of course, Michigan alumni had come to feel a sort of proprietary interest in them and would have resented their removal.

While he was home in Scituate during the summer trying with discouraging progress to get well, he learned that Rowland Hazard was in even greater distress, as the latter had been having lung hemorrhages. "Consumption," when it appeared in those days, cast a long and dreadful shadow. Rowland G. Hazard, the young man's father, was naturally much concerned, and believing that out-door air, with an escape from the northern winter, would be beneficial, he suggested a horseback journey through the southern states—but not alone. Company was desirable not only to avoid loneliness, but for help in case of acute illness or accident. Knowing the attachment between the two boys and Angell's own malady, the elder Hazard asked if Angell would go along with the son as his guest. Would he!

The adventurers left Rhode Island early in October, 1850, and spent about a week in Philadelphia. Here they heard Jenny Lind sing, and her "I know that my Redeemer liveth" remained in Angell's memory for all the following years as the most impressive music he ever heard. They visited all the points of historical interest in the old city. Also, they bought saddles and bridles for the horses they would buy below Harper's



Ferry at Winchester—forerunners of the mounts he was to have while in Peking as Minister to China. They procured saddlebags for their luggage and rubber blankets with slits through which to thrust their heads when rain came. They bought clothing of heavy gray cloth and (for some unrecorded reason) high, brick-red hats to complete an outfit which caused them to be mistaken frequently for cattle-buyers or northern bill collectors. The latter error led to some amusing experiences, as when native horsemen suddenly turned their mounts up side roads and disappeared at high speed.<sup>2</sup>

An episode which seemed to remain longest in President Angell's memory, one must believe as a lively source of inner smiles, came when a very hospitable new Virginia acquaintance named Gilmer offered to take them for an inspection of Thomas Jefferson's old home of Monticello. Arriving there they found the gate locked by order of the then owner, a Navy captain, at the moment abroad, who had been miffed by his nonacceptance into the best local society. Angell's *Reminiscences* records: "On the announcement by the steward of this prohibition, Mr. Gilmer evinced deep anguish. 'This is really too bad,' he exclaimed. 'Here are two sons of old acquaintances and friends of Mr. Jefferson, who have ridden hundreds of miles to pay a tribute to his memory, to visit this residence as a sacred shrine, and now they are to be shut out. If Mr. Jefferson were alive, how he would have greeted them! Oh no! this cannot be, my good friend. Allow me, sir, to introduce you to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the son of John Quincy Adams, and to Mr. Fletcher Webster, the son of Daniel Webster!' As it happened he called me, who was about the size of Mr. Adams, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Hazard, who was six feet high, Mr. Adams. He had not notified us of his intention to play this trick, and it required our best efforts to play the parts assigned us without breaking into laughter. The steward was evidently a little puzzled to explain to himself how so distinguished men should appear in such costume. But he yielded . . . with the remark that he supposed Captain Levy would not object to the admission of such visitors." As the boys went through the mansion with all its memories of the wise and famous men the old home had once sheltered "even the merry talk of our friend Gilmer fell with a certain dissonance on the ear."

When fifty-five years later Angell attended the inauguration of President Alderman at the University of Virginia, he found few present whose recollections reached as far back as his own, but the memory of the wit and humor of "Billy" Gilmer was still green and flourishing.

<sup>2</sup> Authority for this chapter is largely found in the *Reminiscences*, Chapter II.

In this year the beginning of the last decade before the discords between North and South were to break out in open war, along with many expressions of devotion to the Union which seemed to them to represent genuine principles, the boys found much irritation at northern criticisms. They heard also a commencement address by the president of the University of South Carolina which was "solely an appeal to [the graduates] to abide by the State in the dissolution of the Union which he regarded as inevitable. He exhorted them to fight and conquer or fall beneath the Palmetto banner. Several of the students' speeches referred to the secession of the States as certain to come." Angell mentioned, as an aside, that he was surprised to see a supply of cuspidors on the academic stage, but before the exercises concluded they proved to be "by no means superfluous furniture." He perhaps recalled Dr. Wayland's similar "humanity."

The alert eyes of the young travelers of course observed much of slavery in its varied facets. They spent the Christmas holidays as guests on a South Carolina plantation where everything possible was done for the humane treatment of the slaves and where they were impressed with the serious problems and substantial burdens of conscientious owners of large plantations. The economics of slavery had many critics among the slaveholders. The North Carolinian, Hinton Rowan Helper, in his *Impending Crisis* attacked slavery on these grounds. Then in southwestern Georgia they saw the worst, an agonized Negro boy being mercilessly beaten by his master, who was, they later learned, a member of one of New Jersey's most prominent families. There, too, they saw their first slave auction with scenes running the whole scale from grief among separated families to the laughter and dancing of others totally unaffected by their present status. The general effect of his observations over this whole field, on his return north, made Angell want to stop and shake hands with the first white man he encountered sawing his own wood.

A Rhode Islander, he mentions that the textile mills seemed to him as well equipped as any he had seen in New England.

At Aiken, Georgia, the boys decided to sell their horses and make the rest of the journey by railroad and stage coach. This decision may have been hastened by one of the beasts throwing Hazard heavily against a tree, though fortunately with no serious injury. This altered transportation enabled them to exchange their riding garb for less conspicuous clothing. Also, "careful with money," they got a little more for the horses and gear than the cost had been.



They spent about three months in northern Florida with headquarters at Quincy. From there they visited neighboring points, among them Tallahassee. During their entire trip they were regular attendants at Sunday services and formed the opinion that in general the theology of the South was of sterner stuff than that they had been used to in the North, especially in Rhode Island with its holdover of Roger Williams' influence. In Tallahassee they heard a sermon that fairly out-Calvined the founder of Presbyterianism himself, "the most sulphurous discourse" Angell had ever listened to. They went to St Marks, the ruined old fort seized by Andrew Jackson in 1818. And they saw for the first time in Angell's life the blue Gulf of Mexico and cormorants and alligators.

In early April they left Quincy to continue their journey through Alabama to Mobile. From there they went by steamer to New Orleans. They were charmed by the old French town, though apparently one of the most fascinating sights was the departure by steamer of the great Henry Clay for home, and "as was the custom, a concourse of ladies were kissing him good-bye."

On their trip up the great river they made numerous stops before ascending the Ohio and the Cumberland to Nashville. They then went by tedious stage coaches to inspect the Mammoth Cave and thence to Louisville. The rest of the journey was mostly by river and canal through scenery which greatly impressed them, until at Pittsburgh they took a train for Philadelphia. There Hazard remained with friends for a few days, and Angell went on to arrive at home in late May, with renewed health and vigor, a little more than seven and one-half months after his departure.

For Angell the journey constituted a heavy and profitable investment in memories. Novel sights and experiences of the winter were not forgotten, and gave a helpful background for his editorial work at Providence throughout the Civil War period. The desolation wrought by Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley, a lovely country as he remembered it, was saddening when it came. He never forgot that it was nine years before Fort Sumter that a cultivated South Carolina lady, her cordiality and friendliness not lessened by her views, had said to the two young men, "We *ought* to fight you of the North." He never forgot the expression of sadness and hopelessness on the countenances of some of the more intelligent slaves.

Nevertheless, the great blessing brought him by the long tour was a cementing of the friendship with Rowland Hazard. He had learned the meaning of a deep love between two strong men.

# *New Widening of the Horizon*

## CHAPTER IX

*A*ngell was home and in better health, if not well, but he had not found a job and he needed one. Both Angell and his great contemporary, President Eliot, at about the same age found themselves face to face with financial realities. It was at a similar stage in Eliot's life that his father's fortune melted away in the panic of 1857; the Angell family had always known the value of a dollar and the necessity of earning it.

And at twenty-two, life had already brought James B. one of his greatest disappointments. He had had to give up his purpose of becoming a Christian minister, a renunciation not reached until after he had engaged a room at Andover Theological Seminary for the autumn term of 1851. He could not bring himself to this change in his plans until he had consulted with a Boston specialist, who told him he must not think of any profession that called for public speaking—even teaching would better be avoided. It seemed to him that “every door to a career in which I had any interest was shut in my face.” A choice of some outdoor work was strongly urged as the only alternative. The name or nature of Angell's throat ailment has not come down to us—or whether a physician of today would have thought it wise for him to go on into the pulpit. To those familiar with his later life with its numberless clear-voiced public addresses and the daily classroom lectures and quizzes, there comes a thought that Nature is a—if not *the*—great physician. And from the vantage point of hindsight, it is easy to reconcile ourselves to the illness that made him an educator rather than a preacher—even to think of it as a blessing.

But the future was hidden. There opened to him, with the aid of friends, a place on the staff of the city engineer of Boston. Of all the



work in which he engaged during his life—farmer, hotel boy, student, librarian, teacher, editor, college president, diplomatist—it seems hardest to fit him into city employment as an engineer. As will appear later, he came near to becoming a professor of surveying, yet his good humor, suave manner, and conciliatory adaptability just do not seem to go with the rigidity of straight lines, angles, and levels. But he found it interesting while it lasted, particularly as he was the only man on the entire staff who had had a mathematical education extending to the calculus. Most of his associates worked by rule of thumb, knowing little of the basis of the formulae they used. So he speedily advanced in the importance of the work assigned to him. This experience gave him a sympathy with the rapid development of opportunities for engineering education that soon came about in the colleges and enlisted his active support of such education. Among other things he worked on was an enormous map made for the ceremonies attending the opening of the Grand Trunk railroad from Montreal to Boston. There was also a projected map of Boston Common showing every path and every tree, this for the benefit of a Beacon Hill resident who took his daily walk amid these scenes. Finally may be mentioned the survey, with the city engineer himself, to determine the source of impurities discovered in the city water supply. This study involved at one stage, a two-mile walk through conduits in which water about a foot deep remained on the slippery, curving bottom after the system had been “emptied.”

And now again into the story of James B. Angell entered Rowland Hazard and his father. The young man’s “lungs were still weak,” and the senior dreaded the coming winter for his son no less than he had feared the preceding one. Thus, one day while Angell was in front of the State House working on his map of the Common which he was never to finish, there came a letter asking him to come to the Hazard home for a conference. The project was for the two young men to spend the winter in the south of Europe, Angell again to be a guest. It did not take long to talk young Angell into accepting this idea. The decision was soon reached to sail from New York on December 13. So the Boston city engineer’s office lost its best mathematician, and the civil engineering profession a possible future ornament. When one recalls that Rowland Hazard lived for forty-six years more, his illness like Angell’s own, may also be regarded as a blessing, however complete its disguise at the time.

The story of this first European travel is found solely in the *Reminiscences*. There Angell records, when past his eightieth birthday, “I depend on my present recollections for what I now write concerning the

European journey." Fortunately, in the present case at least, the memory in old, old age seems much sharper when it deals with the events of youth than when it endeavors to recall what happened yesterday afternoon. This chapter of the *Reminiscences* is lively and keen in the writer's renewed enjoyment of days that opened to him a broader life and a first-hand contact with scenes and peoples that up to that time he had merely read about.

The voyage was on the steamship "Arago" to Havre. Angell's sense of humor was at once appealed to by a fellow voyager whom he characterizes as a "typical specimen of the self-reliant Connecticut Yankee," who was not in the slightest hesitant about touring Europe alone without knowledge of a single word of any foreign language. Angell and Hazard were to find him again at Florence early in their journey but when he had almost completed *his* tour of the entire continent. At this meeting the Yankee countenance was half-covered with lather, bearing witness to his rapid departure from a barber whose razor was too dull for endurance. "We asked him how he had contrived to get all over southern and eastern Europe so rapidly and with no language but English. Holding his purse in one hand and his cane in the other, he replied, 'With that purse in one hand and that cane in the other, and with swearing a little at times, I can go all over Europe.' And I have reason to think he did."

The *coup d'état* by which Louis Napoleon had seized the government became known to the passengers only after their landing. It was only one of many things that would serve as background for the writings and lectures of the editor and teacher of the years to come. The revolutionary grasp of power had actually taken place eleven days before the "Arago" left New York to arrive at Havre, December 27. So the event was already twenty-five days old when the travelers learned of it. They promptly went on to Paris where they noted with lively interest the pockmarked buildings along the Boulevard des Italiens where bullets had struck. While our Americans saw a considerable number of persons being carried off to prison by the forces of the new government, they themselves were in no wise interfered with.

The bullet marks did not destroy any of the ancient architecture they so much admired, business was going on as usual, and the galleries and theaters were all open. While the political doings remained in Angell's memory as a later-day background for his editorial work, lectures, and teaching, it was the theater that at the time especially stimulated him. The country boy from Rhode Island had never been touched by this



kind of life (Brown forbade the theater to its students), and imperfect though his knowledge of French thus far was, the performance of Got in Molière's *Malade imaginaire* and of Rachel in *Phèdre* seemed to him like the opening of a door into a new and glowing world.

But Paris weather was raw and cold, and Hazard's weakness suggested getting on south. Ultimately, by diligence, rail (the body of one diligence was loaded by a crane on a flat car, passengers and all, and in due course restored to wheels again by the same means), and by sea from Genoa, they arrived at Naples. There as elsewhere they saw the usual tourist sights. At Naples they met their old Brown teacher, Professor William Gammell, who was on a wedding trip. With what might seem out of keeping with Angell's usual tact, though we do not know all the circumstances, he and his friend joined the honeymooners for a journey by carriage between Naples and Rome.

It was in Rome that life really opened for Angell. "We spent six weeks in the highest enjoyment I ever experienced in all my travels," he wrote. "Fresh from our college studies, with Horace in the pocket as a guide-book, every step revealed to us some object of the deepest interest. At night we returned to our rooms to read afresh of all that we had seen. Almost literally we could say that we travelled and observed all day and then studied all night. Such delights could hardly come to one later in life. Subsequent visits to Rome never yielded a full repetition of the first experiences."

The ceremonies of the Church, many of which they witnessed, were of absorbing interest, not only for their religious character and their pageantry, but because they gave him the opportunity to observe the face of Pope Pius IX, regarded as a liberal, and says Angell sixty years later, "a man with so benignant a face that no one who saw him could expect from him anything but benevolence and love." But Angell recorded: "I remember distinctly the marked face of Cardinal Antonelli who became the dominant adviser of the Pope. He had brilliant eyes, a swarthy complexion, and an expression that put you on your guard against his strategy."<sup>1</sup> It would be but a few years before Victor Em-

<sup>1</sup> This remarkable man was chiefly responsible for the abominations of cruelty that followed the return of the Papal Court from Gaeta. He had never taken holy orders but had come to his cardinal's red hat through his generally urbane, though often savage administrative methods, his ravenous hunger for power and wealth, and his sheer dominance of personality. In his *Life and Times of Cavour*, William Roscoe Thayer quotes Frances Elliot as writing: "There was a touch of the Moor in his expression, a hint of the mountain bandit in his free, self-reliant carriage: 'but his heavy jaw, his long teeth, his thick lips betray the grossest appetites.'" Further,

manuel, Cavour, Mazzini, and Garibaldi, with some uncertain help from Louis Napoleon, would succeed in driving out the Austrians and unifying Italy as one country—or at least as the nearest approach to one country it had been for centuries.

The Old World art galleries were a new world to one “who had no conception of art except what he had derived from the sight of Powers’ Greek Slave and copies in private houses of two or three classical masterpieces of painting,” and who found “suddenly spread before him the immeasurable artistic wealth of Rome, with full liberty to gaze upon it at will and to attain to some worthy appreciation of its wealth. Life could never again be quite what it was before. Of all the gifts of Rome to me that was the greatest.”

Finally, the honeymooning party of four went on by carriage to Florence, where the art galleries continued to uplift while the political situation depressed. The travelers had plenty of opportunity to observe the Italian hatred for their Hapsburg masters. At Vienna it was different. They were there on the “Day of the Three Emperors,” Francis Joseph of Austria, Nicholas of Russia, and King William of Prussia. They saw the review of fifteen thousand richly uniformed and equipped troops, the maneuvers being commanded by the gigantic Czar Nicholas.

It was while at Vienna that Angell received from President Wayland a letter offering him his choice of the professorship of civil engineering or that of modern languages, with permission in either case to remain abroad for study till the fall of 1853. He thought it over and in the light of his improved throat, decided he might reasonably attempt teaching, and not surprisingly chose the field of modern languages. After a few brief visits to other Austrian and German cities, the comrades returned to Paris, where on June 10, 1852, Hazard departed for home.

So Professor James B. Angell was alone, paying his own bills, and doubtless at twenty-three entertaining the pleasant notion that the world was his.

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Thayer quotes Ferdinand Gregorovius as etching in a few paragraphs a terrible portrait of Antonelli, concluding: “The lower part of the face dates still further back by a few hundred thousand years. ‘When this jawbone and mouth appeared, there were as yet no men on the earth: all was still gigantic amphibia, the organic existence an everlasting devouring. The motion of the facial muscles shows what was the employment of those oxygen-breathers, for they go regularly up and down, down and up, even when there is no booty at hand for the movement’” (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), I, pp. 179–81. It is no wonder that such a countenance should not have faded from Angell’s memory after six decades or that Pope Pius IX, on learning that Antonelli was dead, should have said: “Never let me hear his name again.”



# *The Professor Prepares for His Classes*

## CHAPTER X

*A* hundred years ago attainment of a professorship by no means involved all that it now comprehends, with today's requirements of graduate study, publication of results of original research—production of new facts or a new interpretation of old ones—in short a considerable degree of maturity. In the 1850's it often meant, rather, that a new faculty member had a creditable undergraduate record and an attractive personality, and above all that he wanted to teach—wanted to awaken and illumine the minds of younger people. Otherwise, in the growing, bustling country with its swirl of opportunities, a young man would hardly have applied for or accepted a professorship. In the colleges of 1850 "the teaching of students was the thing." Indeed it is today, in spite of the examples of "teachers" whose research is in fact their only real interest, and whose student contacts are limited to an almost infinitesimal few. In this connection one recalls going to see a young faculty member about the progress—or lack of it—of a student son. To the inquiry whether a private tutor for the time being might not be helpful, the reply was, "I am always glad to give outside help myself to my students, so long as it doesn't interfere with my work." His "work" was the research that was leading to his doctor's degree, but the University was paying him to teach boys and girls.

Let no reader think that the things here written are even inferentially criticism of genuine research. Too much progress has resulted from it, too many benefits have come to humanity to permit such an opinion. Few as they may be in relation to the entire body, there are still many students of shining talent who can profit, and who can most profit society, only by the guidance and inspiration of a constantly inquiring

mature mind, already far out in advance. There is plenty of room for research professors, for it is of prime importance to the world that such students should have the help that only such teachers can give. All that is meant here is the expression of a hope that some day the universities will have money enough to engage genuinely inspiring *teachers* for all the respectable, hardworking, honest students who must continue to constitute the great bulk of our undergraduate college populations.

So here was young Angell just three years out of college with his bachelor of arts degree, with no teaching experience in the interim, appointed as a full-fledged professor in his alma mater. It behooved him to add to his mere natural aptitudes and to his good intentions more knowledge than he had of the subjects he was going to profess.

He had about thirteen and one-half months more for his foreign study. This period was methodically divided roughly into four months in Paris for French, for German about six months in Brunswick, and two months in other German cities, with the remaining time given to somewhat leisurely travel through Switzerland, France, and England. He kept no diary while abroad, and his letters home which he intended to take the place of such a record were all destroyed when the tavern burned. His account of this period of European experiences contained much about people of small importance and recounted numerous minor personal adventures. Obviously, some of the experiences that he recalled in his old age and set down in his book were highly amusing to him, and they suggest that it was their humor rather than their substance that held them in his memory during the intervening years. It may have been this chapter in particular, somewhat neglectful of European history as it was being written by events of the time, that influenced one critic to characterize the *Reminiscences* as "somewhat naive," a comment that the old President found highly amusing<sup>1</sup>—at least he said so.

In Paris he found a home and instruction in the family of Monsieur Jansen, where besides learning more of the language he learned respect and affection for this kindly, devoted, religious family who quite changed his youthful ideas of French domestic virtue. The father had been a lycée professor who had lost his position through "his radical republicanism." "He was a guileless, scholarly man, without much skill in making his way in the world, especially in the troublous times which had come to France. He detested Louis Napoleon and all his followers and believed that the eyes of [the Emperor's] spies were always upon

<sup>1</sup> Recollection of Wilfred B. Shaw.



him. He had a charming wife, one of the best type of the intelligent, well-bred, frugal woman of the middle class, and a diffident gentle daughter of eighteen years.”<sup>2</sup> The family residence was near the Arc de Triomphe. The professorial student took instruction from the father, sat with his books on the Bois de Boulogne seeing and listening to France, attended lectures at the Sorbonne or Collège, and almost never missed an English church on Sunday. Frequent picnics with the family helped give him easy, natural command of their language. He could not miss seeing these good friends on his homeward journey about a year later.

He must have felt his German was even less adequate than his French, for he spent twice as much time in its study. He thought the best German was that spoken in the free state of Brunswick. He found quarters in the capital city of the same name, with a family no less pleasant and even more efficient as his teachers than he had had in Paris. Fraülein Sack, the eldest daughter of the house, was a professional teacher, with a knowledge of English poetry that would have been unusual either in Britain or America. Angell was so conscious of the debt he owed this competent and devoted woman that he kept up a correspondence with her until her death in 1907, and in 1894 he wrote to Bishop John F. Hurst asking him to try to provide aid for the old lady if she were in need, as she might be, after the death of her father, who had left her but a small estate. Over twenty years after he left the hospitable home, Angell gave to Henry F. Burton, a Michigan graduate of 1872, and later acting president of the University of Rochester, a letter to Fraülein Sack asking for room and instruction for him. From Brunswick Burton wrote: “I see that your memory is yet green here. I had not been here twenty-four hours before I heard how *ausserordentlich fleissig* Mr. Angell was while here. They say that we are respectively the 82d and 83d in the line of ‘pilgrims’ from America & England, of which you were the first.”

The father in his lifetime was clerk of a court. He had fought in the Battle of Waterloo. His locally high reputé as an antiquary led him to a study of the unique chimneys with family coats of arms and mottos, which the old Brunswick families had erected when they built their houses. The famous German thoroughness led Herr Sack to begin his study far back in Greek and Roman times, an investigation that led at length last to the conclusion only that the Greeks and Romans had no chimneys. Having settled this question—and not till then—he was ready to deal historically with the chimneys of Brunswick.

Another memory Angell cherished with amusement was that of a

<sup>2</sup> *Reminiscences*, Chapter III.

London cockney engineer member of a little German group that Angell joined for improvement of his accent. His German colleagues were genuinely concerned with the lack of harmony between the vernaculars of these two English-speaking members, and Angell's explanation had to be made during the absence of the Englishman.

Having made satisfying progress in conversational German and desiring to get a scholarly view of the modern literature he went to Berlin in April. He was disappointed to find at the moment no courses of the desired sort in the University. His time was running out, and a hurried correspondence revealed that such lectures could be found only at the University of Munich, whither he promptly sought to go. But he met with obstacles from the meticulous and, as to him, suspicious, German bureaucratic mind. He evidently found an old man's deep enjoyment in 1912 in memories of an adventurous and puissant youth, when he wrote: "While I was busy in this quest [i. e. for a course in modern literature] and was seeking to procure from the city authorities the ordinary permission to occupy lodgings, I was surprised to be informed by the police officers who had received my passport that I could not receive that permission in the usual form. On the contrary I was directed to report twice a week in person at the police office. In answer to my inquiry for the reason of this extraordinary demand, I was told that revolutionists with the spirit of 1848 were busy, that bombs and other munitions had been found in the attic of a storehouse, and that Germans bearing American passports were supposed to be coming to town to engage in lawless enterprises. 'Well,' I said, 'how does that concern me?' 'Well, we thought you might be one of these Germans.' 'It is very flattering,' I replied, 'to be regarded by you as a German. Will you not be good enough to tell me why you have taken me for a German?' 'Well,' was the reply, 'you have a square head and light hair and complexion, in short, look like a German.' 'But,' I rejoined, 'you must see that I do not speak your language like a German. I have been in your country only a few months.' 'Yes,' said the official, 'but the foreign accent could be assumed.'

"I could not argue against 'Caesar with his ten legions.' After a week's sojourn under these conditions, reflecting that only in Munich could I find the lectures I wanted, I resolved to go there. So I went to the police office and demanded my passport, viséd for Munich. To my surprise and to my temporary satisfaction the officer could not find it. I saw at once that there I had him at my mercy. In those days a passport was regarded in official circles as such a sacrosanct document that a police official



could hardly commit a more serious offence than to lose it. So I assumed the menacing air, and told him that if the passport was not at my room viséd within three hours I would report the case to the American Chargé for complaint to the Government. It was delivered to me within the time and I set out for Munich."

But at Munich he was again baffled by scholarly determination to lay foundations broad and deep. Before saying anything of the moderns, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller, whom Angell desired to hear about, the learned professor dealt at length with the period covered by the *Germania* of Tacitus; by the time the would-be beneficiary of the repository of knowledge was obliged to start for home he had heard about nothing later than the translation of the Bible by Ulfilas in the fourth century. The art galleries and lectures in other fields provided some solace for his disappointment.

En route westward he passed through Switzerland and remembered going over the Brünig Pass on foot. In Paris besides renewing his friendship with the Jansens, at a dinner he met the critic, Sainte-Beuve, who charmed the young man with his searching comments and his unaffected geniality. It is a pity some of the great man's comments were not preserved.

Ultimately, after a week in London and a few stops between the metropolis and Glasgow, on July 29 he sailed from the latter city for Philadelphia. In New York he overheard a discussion that disclosed a degree of difference between Americans and Europeans in the field of art. An elderly couple were gazing at Thorwaldsen's "Christ and the Apostles," and concluded after some reflection that "they were the Presidents of the United States."

But when he reached his Scituate home nearly two years after leaving it he found news in which there was only sorrow. Since his last letters had been received in Europe both his maternal grandparents, whom he loved, had died.

# *The Youngest Member of the Faculty*

## CHAPTER XI

*A*ngell's professorship at Brown continued for seven years, though during the last one or two he was giving more and more attention to part-time editorial work with the *Providence Journal*. It seems doubtful that he found the satisfaction in his teaching that he anticipated at the beginning.

On the credit side, he enjoyed his students. The best of these, judged by distinction achieved later in life, included Richard Olney, of the Class of 1856, later attorney general of the United States, and still later Grover Cleveland's secretary of state. Of a much more winning personality was William W. Keen, of the Class of '59, who became one of the great surgeons of his time, and whose devotion to Angell was such as to move him twenty years later to write his old teacher one of the most affectionately flattering letters that came out of the appointment to the Chinese mission. But undoubtedly the over-all favorite was John Hay, secretary to President Lincoln, ambassador to Great Britain, secretary of state, and author of prose and poetry of such quality as to make his friends regret that other opportunities and duties had drawn him away from literature as a sole career. Hay's calls on Hannah Angell at the house of her professor brother no doubt contributed to the friendship that existed throughout later life between one-time student and teacher.

Doubtless one underlying reason for a rising feeling that the professorial life was not bringing him what it had promised was rooted in the resignation of President Wayland. A dozen years earlier the president had written a book, *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States*, which could be said to be at least a forerunning plea, among other reforms it proposed, for a broadly elective course of



studies. From then on he urged that Brown take steps in the direction of greater freedom of choice and away from the old cast-iron curriculum. A few new courses came to be given, but the net result was largely to reduce the amount of time which in the four years could be devoted to *any* subject. When nothing more than this happened as a result of his efforts, at the very height of his fame and his power, he shocked New England and the Brown community in particular by resigning the presidency immediately after commencement in 1849.

This explosion in the midst of general complacency roused everybody. No one had been expecting such a thing. It was like the celebrated "fire bell in the night." The trustees lost no time in asking him to withdraw his resignation, with the promise to raise a fund that would make possible some, at least, of the changes he advocated. Under these circumstances, he consented. The most immediate irritation was treated with that ever useful salve, an increase in salaries: the president's compensation to \$1,600, Professor Caswell's to \$1,250 (he had been president *pro tempore* during a Wayland absence), the other four professors' to \$1200. Moreover, the trustees appointed a committee of eleven, with Wayland himself at its head, to study the whole subject and make formal recommendations. This report was received and accepted in 1850. It thus looked as though the students might be allowed to study the subjects they felt would be of most value to them in the kind of life they individually wanted to lead, and along with this went not only permission but persuasion to carry these subjects to a point where they would be of genuine practical use.

In his report of 1850 the president had stressed the evil results of increasing the number of subjects taught and *required* of all students with the necessary reduction of time thereby allowed in each field. The effect, he said, is "unfortunate on the mind of both student and instructor. The student never carrying forward his knowledge to its results . . . loses all enthusiasm in the pursuit of science . . . We have now in the United States . . . one hundred and twenty colleges pursuing in general this course. All of them teach Greek and Latin, but where are our classical scholars? All teach mathematics, but where are our mathematicians? We might ask the same questions concerning the other sciences taught among us. There has existed for the last twenty years a great demand for civil engineers. Has this demand been supplied from our colleges? We presume the single academy at West Point, graduating annually a smaller number than many of our colleges, has done more towards the construction of railroads than all our one hundred and twenty colleges united."

In his Chicago address of 1899 Angell said of this document: "Some of the most salient recommendations in this report were these: The abolition of the fixed term of four years of study as the requisite to a degree; the opening of large choice of studies to students; the recognition by a degree of the completion of other than classical work; the establishment of courses in the application of science to the arts; the endeavor to meet in every way every variety of intellectual want. Unhappily the funds raised for the reorganization of the college were not enough to give full execution to the plan, and some of the details were not wisely arranged. But the ideas of larger liberty in the election of studies and of an ampler opportunity for scientific training and of a more just estimate of the relative value of scientific training to the purely classical, all of which were emphasized in Dr. Wayland's report of 1850, were never again lost sight of in the discussions of American collegiate schemes. That great leader in shaping the educational ideas of the West, President Tappan, who was deeply inspired by Dr. Wayland's report, immediately on entering upon his duties at the University of Michigan in 1852 set up the scientific course parallel to the classical, and soon after established a school of engineering. All the State universities of the West have followed in the same path."

There is no need to analyze here the report in detail, or to record its actual results at Brown. Suffice it to say that after a brave enough start, it had to be admitted that the sum raised by the trustees, thought at first to be enough if not really ample, proved in the event too small, so the project languished. Discouraged, President Wayland resigned again in 1855, and this time for keeps. He was succeeded by President Barnas Sears, whose sympathies were with the traditional rather than the new. This change did nothing to build up Angell's enjoyment of his work, as it soon resulted in the limitation of his instruction in any language to a single beginning year; no longer could he carry his students along into the fields of the creative writings in which he delighted. He had looked forward to European study of comparative literature as soon as he could pay the debt already incurred by foreign residence, and to restrict his teaching to a single, drill-master's first year awoke no enthusiasm within his breast.

In this period the *Providence Journal* (before Angell became connected with it) printed a review of a book, from a Philadelphia publisher, entitled *Hand-Book of French Literature: Historical, Biographical, and Critical*, "revised and edited by James B. Angell." The review was so laudatory as to create in the mind of a reader some doubt of the



writer's wide knowledge of the field he surveyed. The reviewer states that the book "is prepared with much care and learning, by a scholar whose name is a high authority in the departments to which it relates," and much more in similar vein. Unquestionably, the volume must at the time have given great satisfaction to its young author, who with the passage of the years forgot all about it.

It was in this period, too, that he began making the addresses for which he was to become of great repute. The first mention of these is found in a report of a Fourth of July celebration in 1854 by the Sabbath school at North Scituate. Here the home town boy who had made good came back to give the address of the day. The *Providence Journal* amiably reported that the young man who "had not before been heard by his fellow townsmen on so public an occasion, was listened to with feelings of a peculiar character. They were justly proud of his address, which, mainly dwelling upon Sabbath schools, was illustrated by observations of his travels in Europe, and made simple and attractive to children, while it commanded the respect of the older portions of his audience for its sound principles, convincing arguments, and literary merit."

Again a year or two later the *Journal* recorded: "An address was delivered [at a ladies seminary] by Professor James B. Angell, of Brown University, which was listened to with profound attention by a crowded audience. We regret to be unable to present extracts from this production, which was exceedingly elegant, worthy of the reputation of the speaker, and happily adapted to the occasion."

In his *Reminiscences* he says: "I was called on at various times to give lectures in and near Providence. I first wrote out some lectures and read them. I soon found that this was not the most effective mode of lecturing and moreover that it made too great a draught on my throat. So I decided to throw away manuscript. I thus acquired the habit of speaking without notes, which I have followed through my life with few exceptions and then against my wishes. Many of my speeches I have after delivery reduced to writing in order to preserve them; but the pleasure and effectiveness of speaking without reading can never be equalled by reading a manuscript."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A presently annoyed biographer is among those who listened happily to many delightful addresses by President Angell in his later years, all, in the phraseology of the *Journal* "exceedingly elegant, worthy of the reputation of the speaker, and happily adapted to the occasion." Yet no single word remains today to indicate the actual content of a large fraction of these speeches. So the biographer finds it difficult

One event of this period gave him great and lifelong happiness. This was his marriage on Thanksgiving Day, November 26, 1855, to Sarah Swoope Caswell, daughter of Professor Alexis Caswell, later president of Brown. The groom was twenty-six; the bride was twenty-four. It was in every sense an enduring love match. Their mutually satisfying life together was to continue for forty-eight years.

The letter which Dr. William W. Keen wrote at the time of Angell's appointment to the Chinese Mission was not his first tribute to James B. Angell. When the first child of the Angell couple, Alexis Caswell Angell, was born on April 26, 1857, Keen was one of those who greeted the event appropriately with a gift both practical and sentimental. In *Memories of Brown*<sup>2</sup> Keen writes: "Shortly [after] I entered the university in September, 1855, President—then professor—James B. Angell was married. We boys declared that he had won the 'mathematical prize'—the daughter of dear old Professor Caswell. That she was a 'prize' indeed all who ever knew her gracious personality will testify. During my sophomore year his first baby was born. Dr. Angell then was 'professor of modern languages,' *i.e.*, French and German. His pupils in both classes were kept posted as to the approximate date by a sub-freshman friend, Mrs. Angell's brother—now Admiral Caswell, U.S.N. (retired).

"The two classes met and appointed a committee, of whom I remember I was one, and supplied them with funds to buy the finest cradle that could be had in Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. It was a splendid mahogany creation, if my memory is not at fault, with lace canopy, and went by clock-work. Upon a silver plate the inscription was all engraved—except the name and date, which had to await events. As soon as both were decided the plate was completed and the cradle sent home in triumph.

"When the baby was a year old, Professor and Mrs. Angell invited all of the donors who were still in college and a number of Providence girls to what was known in those simple days as a 'party.' Towards the close of the delightful evening a dozen of the boys gathered around the

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to regard Angell's own decision which resulted in the ephemeral character of most of these utterances as entirely for the best.

One recalls from days of student editorship that when it was known the President was to speak and it was desired to report what he said, it was necessary to send a stenographer to make the record. Admitting that the attention of a general audience is likely to be more closely held by a speech given offhand than by one that is read, the practice on the part of a public speaker of preserving no written record is unfair to posterity and cruel to biographers.

<sup>2</sup>*Memories of Brown*, ed. by Robert P. Brown (Providence: Brown Alumni Mag., 1909), pp. 165–66.



piano and sang, to the tune of 'Cocachelunk,' the song which I give below. It was written by John Hay of '58—who though a year before myself was yet a member of the same modern language class by reason of the peculiar arrangements then existing as to degrees. He gave me the original manuscript, which a few years ago I gave to the university with a lot of other Brunonianiana I collected while a student. It is now in the library. Hay was not satisfied with his first effort and scratched out the entire first verse and began anew. When we had finished our song Dr. Angell read a metrical response 'from the baby.'

"The cradle has done duty in the second generation and for aught I know is still busily employed in the third."

The song by John Hay which so thrilled Keen's memory is presented in *Memories of Brown*:

#### THE ANGELL CRADLE

Tune—Cocachelunk.

Once to earth there came an angel,  
Wingless he was wafted down,  
And his wailings woke the echoes,  
Slumbering round the walls of Brown.

Chorus—Cocachelunk che lunk, etc.

Then outspoke a reverend senior,  
Bending with the weight of years,  
"We will give him a reception,  
Worthy of the name he bears.

"We will frame a mighty cradle,  
Suited to this youthful swell,  
(For the student knows how useful  
Is the art of lying well).

"It shall be propelled by clock-work,  
Which will teach this juvenile brick,  
In his youth to play the student—  
Wanting 'rocks' to go 'on tick.' "

When the mighty work was finished,  
On the gift one glance he threw,  
Crowed his moderate approbation,  
And concluded it would do.

Now the rolling year has vanished,  
We with loyal hearts and true  
Come to wish "that blessed baby"  
With success, successors too.

Let us hope for future classes,  
Repetitions of the scene,  
Not like other "angel's visits,"  
Neither "few nor far between."

The "metrical response from the baby" which Keen mentions as having been addressed one year later to the donors of the cradle by the "Juvenile" though read by the Professor has not been preserved in print, but the original is in the Brown University Library and is printed here as a tribute, less to its poetical eminence than to the young father's love and pride.

Address of the "Juvenile"  
to the Donors of the Cradle—  
April 26th 1858

I.

Welcome and hail! my noble friends,  
From every care released,—  
Your presence here a blessing lends  
To this your joyous feast.

II.

When Life's bright dawn upon me burst  
With all its bounteous cheer,  
Your voices mingled with the first  
That bade me welcome here.

III.

And when a tranquil spirit came  
My dazzled eyes to close,  
And taught my tender, trembling frame  
The bliss of sweet repose,—

IV.

Your hands a couch then spread for me  
With all a mother's love,  
Your gentle hearts invoked on me  
A benison from above.

V.

And pillowed on your claspèd hands,  
I've dreamed for many a night,  
And seen the pure, celestial bands  
That fly on wings of light.



## VI.

Thus cradled by your loving care,  
 I've passed a joyous year,—  
 And now I raise my earnest prayer  
 For every heart that's here,—

## VII.

May thou, my generous giver, see  
 A friend to thee and thine,  
 As thou has proved thyself to be  
 A friend to me and mine.

## VIII.

And then at last may all thine house  
 Lean fondly on the breast  
 Of that Great Father of us all,  
 Who gives His loved ones rest.—

The professorship at Brown did not formally terminate till September 1, 1860, when his resignation was accepted by the Executive Board of the University, in words witnessing the high approval of the service he had rendered and the regret felt at his leaving. His fellow members of the faculty were even more explicit in the affection they expressed in a lengthy communication. From older men to a youngster of only thirty-one, their words were a genuinely human tribute to a personality whom they were glad to have continue so near them if no longer to be of them.

# *Editor of the Journal*

## CHAPTER XII

*A*ngell had grown up in an atmosphere of admiration and respect for the *Providence Journal*. His *Reminiscences* record the common Rhode Island saying that its conservative readers opened it in the morning to find out what they ought to think that day. Its owner and editor, Henry B. Anthony, was a Brown graduate of 1833. He became editor of the *Journal* in 1838 and made it the power that it became in his native state. Governor for two terms in 1849 and 1850, he declined to be a candidate further. But from 1859 to his death in 1884, he served in the national Senate. His power in Rhode Island was so complete that today he would doubtless be called a political boss. But both before becoming associated with the paper and during editorial connection with it, Angell had unqualified esteem and admiration for the freedom which as proprietor of a newspaper he gave to his editor. Angell's connection with the *Journal*, including the preliminary part-time service, covered a period of more than a decade, and never during any part of that time was he conscious of any inclination on the part of the owner to "slant" the views of the editor.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, Angell sets down with very apparent pride one incident illustrative of the value he placed on his editorial independence. During

<sup>1</sup> Another side of the Anthony character appears in one of Judge Cooley's memoranda under date of January 14, 1888: "Prest. Angell tells strange things about the late Senator Anthony. He was under Anthony in the *Providence Journal* & left the place because he was worked too hard & paid too little. Anthony he says was extremely small & mean in pecuniary matters always: so much so that though he was always ready to accept invitations, he never entertained when in the Senate. He accepted presents, & at his death his cellar was filled with wines given him, & which, as he did not give dinners he stored away. The quantity was so great as to be the subject of a special clause in his will. His property proved to be very much greater than anyone supposed: three quarters of a million or thereabouts. But his meanness even to his confidential servants & clerks was amazing. Some strange illustrations were mentioned."



the political campaign of 1860 one of the candidates for the governorship was charged with contributing money for the expense of circulating the anti-slavery Hinton Rowan Helper's *Impending Crisis*.<sup>2</sup> The *Journal* supported this candidate, whose intellectual interests, Angell believed, had never led him even to read the controversial book. But his contribution to the volume's circulation tarred him with the stick of abolitionism. The day of the abolitionist had not yet fully dawned in Rhode Island, and William Sprague, a member of a wealthy Rhode Island family, was put forward in opposition. Angell recalled: "During the campaign two or three gentlemen, who were managing the Sprague campaign, waited on me and asked if the *Journal* could be bought. (They had no newspaper then.) I replied that I did not own it, but that I presumed that like other property it could be bought if enough was offered for it. They talked on for some time rather vaguely, until at last it appeared that they did not care to buy it unless I was bought with it. When I discovered this I replied, holding up my quill pen, 'As I have said, I presume you can buy the *Journal*, but the Spragues have not money enough to buy this quill.' Whereupon they withdrew." In spite of the opposition of the *Journal*, Sprague won the governorship. After the war had healed the party breach, he not only helped to elect his former rival for the governor's chair, but went on to become a United States Senator. Also, he won the hand of the beautiful and brilliant Kate Chase in marriage. In these successes he had only congratulations from the *Journal*.

A voluminous scrapbook has survived with "James B. Angell, September, 1854," in his own hand on the otherwise blank first leaf. It largely contains clippings of his own articles in the years before he gave his entire time to the *Journal*, though with a few contributions, including a poem or two, by Rowland Hazard. From it we can be reasonably certain that his first article appearing in the *Journal* was published August 5, 1854. It was a review and discussion of the annual report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of Providence. In a column-long discussion Angell urged that the need for more school space be met by enlarging the buildings then in service rather than by scattering new buildings over the city and that for admission to grammar schools and high school the entrance requirements be mildly raised. This, he thought, would not only reduce the physical demand for school accommodations, but would result in pupils fitted for a higher grade of instruction. His continuing interest in public schools appears in his

<sup>2</sup> See p. 36.

somewhat later review of the status of the schools of Massachusetts.

The forces that moved him from the professor's chair to that of the editor have already been touched on and seem fairly plain. He was discouraged by being limited to a single beginning year in the languages he taught. Such courses did not rouse any real interest in the student, and as for the teacher, he thought they "did not seem to stretch the flexor muscles of the mind."

Mr. Anthony's ideals and purposes for his paper—(1) clean, even in its advertisements; (2) purity in its English; and (3) the honor, the prosperity, and the glory of Rhode Island—influenced him to turn to the young teacher in the state's leading college for thoughtful articles and editorials dealing frequently with foreign affairs, then, especially in France, in a state of flux, while the Sepoy mutiny was convulsing India, the czar was freeing the serfs, and the Italians were seeking unification of their peninsula. As for Angell, not merely his lack of interest in first-year courses, but the scanty salary made him, now a family man, listen with receptive ear to proposals to step into a wider world, and to be paid for doing so. Whether at the beginning he had any thought of giving up teaching entirely seems doubtful. At any rate it was several years after his first contributions to the editorial page that he resigned his place at Brown and cast in his lot entirely with the *Journal*. In these preliminary years he found a growing pleasure in discussing the foreign and domestic politics of the day. He moved easily and confidently through the interplay of motives and acts of Louis Napoleon, Walewski, Lord Palmerston, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, and King "Bomba" and the remaining crowd of European statesmen, to the domestic scene animated by President Buchanan, Senator Douglas, "Old John" Brown, and the other Americans of the day. But in addition he resurrected items of his own experiences abroad such as the "Day of the Three Emperors" and St. Peter's in Rome. He wrote of incidents of the southern journey—sometimes as if they had just happened to correspondents of the *Journal*. The subject of missions, which always interested him, was fuel for his part-time editorial fires, and almost prophetically he discussed the qualities required in a good diplomat—and largely wanting, he thought, in the foreign representatives appointed by President Buchanan.

For the last full year of his connection with Brown, 1859, he assumed entire responsibility for the editorial pages. The double burden was too great, and the opportunity to have a direct part in the events of the absorbing years that were upon the country was far more attractive, when he had to make a final choice, than drilling freshmen in beginning



language courses. Senator Anthony's proposal that he resign his professorship and become editor of the *Journal*, in full charge, could have but one answer, and the field was open for the resolutions of regret on the part of the University authorities.

If it had been the day of small and inexpensive things at Brown, no less was it a time of simplicity and thrift in the newspaper world. The *Journal* was made up of four large pages (21 inches by 26), eight columns to the page. Of the thirty-two columns, nineteen were ordinarily given over to advertising. In the modest offices of the paper a single accountant made up the entire clerical staff. The small city of Providence, to say nothing of the little state of Rhode Island, could not in that day support a news gatherer like Greeley's *Tribune* or Bennett's *Herald*. Even in 1854 the *Tribune's* payroll carried 220 names,—130 of them on full time. It had "correspondents" in many far-off places even beyond the ocean. A dozen years later about the time Angell was leaving the *Journal*, the New York *Tribune's* city editor alone had thirty-two reporters working for him.<sup>3</sup> Angell recalls: "I not only wrote as a rule all the editorial articles, but read all the exchanges and made the clippings and supervised and edited all communications. We had no regular reporter except the marine reporter who was a compositor and set up all the news he gathered. When I wished a reporter I sent out and found one. Two or three college students held themselves subject to my call when I could find them. After the war came on I engaged some young officer in each Rhode Island regiment and battery, generally one of my college pupils, to send correspondence from the front. Not infrequently, after I had gone home at a late hour, the foreman of the printing office receiving some important war news, brought it to my house and I crept out of bed and in very slender attire wrote an article for him to take back."

In his book, *Half a Century with the Providence Journal* (1904), Henry R. Davis writes of its editors, particularly those of an earlier day: "One of these was Prof. James B. Angell, whose facile pen responded to the requirements of a mind treasuring information and carefully trained. Readiness to write an editorial article did not mean commonplace or superficial work with him, and there was a hopeful quality of optimism that seemed to relieve his work of all suggestion of forced effort in production. Physically vigorous, he had a virile intellect that appeared to adjust itself so readily to the subject in hand, and to turn to another

<sup>3</sup> Bernard A. Weisberger, *Reporters for the Union* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953), p. 49.

when it was finished, that he hardly received credit for the three years of toil when he conducted his college classes in addition to the work of filling the editorial page. This responsibility was not lessened when he gave up his college work to devote his entire time to the management of the newspaper, for the war brought with it perplexing problems in which local interests and Rhode Island's part in the struggle were involved. The record of those strenuous days in the *Journal* office is modestly told by Mr. Angell himself in another chapter. Much of the information and experience that have since proved valuable to him in diplomatic positions and in his administrative work as President of the University of Michigan was no doubt acquired during those days of editorial responsibility, when he had to discuss such a wide range of subjects. The influence he wielded may have passed with the period in which it served its purpose, but the personality of Mr. Angell impressed all who came in contact with him, so that even the newsboys of 1860 still remember his cheerful smile and the kindly word in passing that fell so naturally and readily from his lips."

As in most of his experiences in life Angell was not too much impressed with the work and the annoyances to prevent his learning from them lessons of profit for the future. "Editorial work," he said, "trains one to both readiness and accuracy in writing. One learns to say on the first trial exactly what one means to say, and to avoid diffuseness." His editorial writing probably made a very valuable contribution to his ability to speak without notes in such a way that his addresses so given seemed to have been carefully composed in the quiet of his study.

To young men who came to know him only in later life, it was hard to realize that in 1860 he "shared the views of the more radical wing of the Republican party," and was earnestly labored with for many hours by older men who sought to modify the *Journal's* position lest it contribute to a final break with the South.

His reaction to Abraham Lincoln's speech in Providence with his account of his error in appraising a John Hay manuscript, as well as other items, should be given in his own words: "We invited Abraham Lincoln to make a speech in Providence. He had come to New York to give his Address [in the Cooper Union], now so famous, which shows that the Fathers of the Republic lived in the hope of the ultimate extinction of slavery. He was an entire stranger in Providence; and when he appeared on the stage with his long, lank figure, his loose frock coat, his hair cut rather close, his homely face, we were rather disappointed. But as he proceeded with his speech our solicitude disappeared. It so hap-



pened that I sat by the side of the editor of the Democratic paper, Welcome B. Sayles. At the close of the address he said to me, 'That is the finest constitutional argument for a popular audience that I ever heard.' And certainly I agreed with him.

"It was not long before the speaker was nominated for the Presidency. Rhode Island like other Eastern states had hoped for the nomination of Seward. And when the news of Lincoln's nomination came, we recalled that awkward figure which we had seen in Railroad Hall, and heard the commendations of him as a rail-splitter, and we wondered whether he was to prove the leader we needed for the trying days we were expecting. So keen was the disappointment in the State that clearly an effort was needed to secure him earnest support.

"I bethought myself of one source of help. I remembered that John Hay, my old pupil, was a student of law in Lincoln's office. I wrote to him, explaining the situation and asking him to write a few letters about Lincoln, which would help me in awakening enthusiasm. He complied with my request, but he was so accustomed to look at Lincoln with western eyes that he dwelt unduly for my purpose on the qualities which had made him so popular in Illinois. I 'edited' his writing severely and published it. What would I not give now for the original manuscript which went to the waste basket with other copy!" (A biographer of Angell could likewise feel sad with respect to so much that far from going into the waste basket was never even committed to paper.)

"During the war the labour of editing was very severe but intensely interesting . . . I found the annoyance of editorial life much less than I had anticipated. The office was the gathering place for all the prominent men in the state. My practice was to write in the outer room surrounded by these men. I was thus able to feel the public pulse every day and to get many excellent suggestions from the conversation. I used jocosely to say to some of these bright men that 'I milked every cow that came into my enclosure.'

"I recall with interest visits to the office of many prominent men, among them Charles Sumner, Schuyler Colfax, Henry J. Raymond, editor of the *New York Times*, Horace Greeley, and Governor Andrew. Of all these the most stimulating to the young editor was Governor Andrew, with his lofty enthusiasms and good sense. Mr. Greeley having once asked for a place where he could write, I offered him my table, which was of the usual height. 'You don't write at such a table as that, do you?' said he. 'Let me have some books to pile on it.' I piled up on it the bound volumes of the Congressional Record, until when he was seated

they reached to his chin, and on top he spread his paper and wrote.”<sup>4</sup>

News gathering with speed was less important then than now. Such dispatches as came from the Battle of Gettysburg, and they were few, were printed several days after the event. Even President Lincoln agonized for many hours at the telegraph office in Washington while he waited for news from less than seventy miles away. General Lee's retreat after Gettysburg which began on July 4 was not reported in the *Journal* until the seventh, while the surrender of Vicksburg on the fourth was reported in its pages only on the eighth. Today American baseball games are broadcast play by play in Asia, and a small Ann Arbor dog is frightened into frenzy by the sound of cannon being fired in a London celebration. But when James B. Angell was editor, he wrote on January 25, 1858, that “the steamer from Europe brings us the startling intelligence” of the death of four Europeans whose lives had widely influenced the world and whose passing from the scene would in each case have its own effect. Such leeway between an event and its recording in the paper makes it easier to understand how in the more leisurely pace of a hundred years ago a metropolitan editor could, all alone, carry so great a burden of influence. It also helps to explain why there are no Horace Greeleys today.

And along the way, the editor had fun—as when in his story of the improvements and beautification of one of the English public buildings for a coming royal wedding he listed as the most important of all these, the widening of one doorway by two feet so that the crinoline might enter. At some length he considers one alternative, namely, the wearing of skirts without the hoops. But how indecent and repulsive to all good taste, he concludes, it would be to come to a wedding, of all events, in the immodesty of no hoop and crinoline!

Perhaps one might best openly confess to some regret that when in 1863 his number came up in the army draft, he should find it only a stimulus for much humor.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps what he wrote merely reflected the view of his fellow citizens in general that it was ridiculous to think that one in his position of large influence could better serve his country as a private in the ranks. In an editorial in the *Journal* of July 8, he said:

<sup>4</sup> *Reminiscences*, pp. 116–18.

<sup>5</sup> Three grandsons, James B. Angell II, James A. McLaughlin, and Rowland Hazard McLaughlin, saw foreign service as officers in World War I. Rowland Hazard McLaughlin, Captain, Battery A, 314th Field Artillery, was killed in action, October 14, 1918. Before going to officers' training camp he had held an administrative position at Brown University. A fourth grandson, Robert Cooley Angell, served in Washington and overseas as an officer in World War II.



"The *Journal* has had frequent occasions to acknowledge the kind attention of Provost Marshal Hamlin and his assistants. But what praise is sufficient for them, now that they have made such a 'draft' upon their kindness as to give one of our editorial corps a place among the *Patres conscripti*? We thought that we had some friends. But we had no idea that there were so many as called to congratulate us yesterday afternoon. And they were so free too from envy of our new honors. It raised our estimate of the disinterestedness of mankind. And then how gracefully was the opportunity improved to pay a delicate compliment on youthfulness. As much as to say, 'what! young enough to be drawn. Who would have thought it?' And how delightful it was to find such a surplus of editorial talent in the visitors, and such kindness of heart as to offer to fill our place during our temporary absence of three years in the army . . . In fifteen minutes we were so fortunate as to have come into our office two or three gentlemen ready to take the 'heavy leaders,' one witty paragraphist, one reliable gentleman, one intelligent contraband, one deserter, who had always been a Union man, one veracious lady, who had escaped from rebeldom, and one local reporter, good for the late hours of night. It was cheering to think that so much help was so promptly at hand in the emergency. Perhaps we ought to add, that our visitors, though so generous, all appeared to suffer from physical disability, when the subject of acting as *military* substitutes was broached. Their liberality was of the high, intellectual sort . . . And then what a bliss to feel for the first time the thrill of martial *camaraderie*, as our fellow conscripts, dear, gallant souls, resolved to do or die or get substitutes or pay \$300 each, dropped into the office, 'the light of battle on their faces.' And for all this and more—we cannot yet say how much more, we have to thank the *Sortes Hamlinienses*, the mystic, fateful wheels and urns and papers of the Provost Marshal and his assistants." His friends took the same line. Two days later the Newport section of the *Journal* went on to say: "By the by, it seems quite proper for the friends of the fortunate editor of the *Journal*, who by the wheels of fortune has been suddenly thrust into the line of heroes, to send up their congratulations from Newport as well as from other sources. We always knew that the man of the quill could wield the sword, and that he was only waiting the opportunity, and though we are sorry to part with him, we certainly wish him the greatest success. It is reported that his friends at Providence are ready to present him with a horse, and that being the case, we hereby tender him a pair of spurs. The only condition is this: when he is booted and mounted, all equipped and ready

for the fray, he must show himself in our city for the admiration of his less fortunate friends who draw blanks and are thus compelled to stay at home.”<sup>6</sup>

But nobody, frankly including himself, thought that in the war effort he could be as useful carrying a musket as he was in the *Journal* office. So in accordance with the common practice of the time he sent a substitute. The newspapers were full of advertisements of men applying for such employment, at an “honorarium” ordinarily of \$250 or \$300. How many of these substitutes, along with similar multitudes of “bounty-jumpers,” promptly deserted and in a new community again sold their patriotism no one knows even now, though the proved cases add up into the hundreds. But there were other hundreds of good and loyal citizens genuinely desirous of serving the Union cause, who needed no excuse for choosing to enlist with the backlog of a substantial sum at the disposal of themselves or their families. It is to be hoped that Angell found a substitute of the latter class.

<sup>6</sup> In responding to a toast at the reunion of the Army of the Tennessee in Detroit, on September 14, 1887, Angell mentioned a further career when he said: “In truth, I have been somewhat puzzled to know why the committee should have pitched upon me for this duty. I have been able to think of but one explanation; and that is that they have heard of my early and brilliant military record. For the benefit of strangers who come from abroad it may be necessary for me to tell it myself. I was a member of a battery of artillery in my early years, and drilled for some weeks every night. The officers of that battery were men quick to discern military genius; and therefore at the end of two weeks they promoted me to the officer of fourth corporal. They did not see, however, that modesty was sometimes combined with great military talent. I was set to reflecting upon the fact that at this rapid rate of promotion I might before long be called to the high responsibility of commanding the armies of the United States, and in sheer diffidence I resigned my position. But I did not escape all connection with military affairs in that way. It so happened that I was at that time editing the chief daily journal in Rhode Island, and it was my duty, of course, to endeavor to record the deeds of you gallant soldiers at the front. And I speedily found that this required more activity than it did to keep up with my gun when she was on the double quick; for you soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee had that awkward way of winning victories faster than we could record them, and in that way I became very familiar with the names of many of the gentlemen whom I have never seen until tonight; but into whose faces I am glad to look.” *Ann Arbor Courier*, Sept. 21, 1887.



# *The Editor's Day*

## CHAPTER XIII

*I*t is a far cry from the Providence *Journal* establishment of that day to the great four-story, block-long, beautifully appointed building which today houses the *Journal* and its evening edition, the *Bulletin*. The wide, handsomely paneled hall leading to the editorial receptionist's desk is lined with portraits of men who through the years have contributed to the success of the enterprise. Back of the receptionist is a lifelike portrait of James B. Angell and near this is another of George W. Danielson who joined the force in 1863, when publication of the evening edition began and who relieved Angell of much work.

When the *Bulletin* celebrated its fiftieth anniversary,<sup>1</sup> Volume LI, No. 22, of January 25, 1913, spread a letter from James B. Angell over its front page, with a large portrait of its writer. The letter said in part:

"The history of the *Evening Bulletin* is a simple one. After hostilities in the Civil War began, the *Journal*, published in the early morning, was frequently called to issue extras later in the day, with the freshest war news. This was done at some inconvenience.

"On Jan. 1, 1863, Mr. Danielson joined the staff. He had for some time been connected with the *Evening Press*. He at once saw that it was better for us to issue a regular evening edition in place of the extras, and proceeded immediately to arrange for the publication of the *Bulletin*. He chose the name. This sheet was to reproduce a good part of the editorial matter and the news of the *Journal*, and add the telegraphic news received during the day and reports of local occurrences. Mr. Danielson, to my great relief, took the entire charge of the *Bulletin*, in addition to his valuable supervision of mechanical work of the *Journal*. The editorial work of the *Journal* was left entirely in my hands.

"Although Mr. Danielson had been for some years connected with the

<sup>1</sup> Henry R. Davis' *Half a Century of the Providence Journal* (Providence, 1904) contains considerable material relative to Angell's connection with the paper.

Democratic organ, the *Post*, and with the *Press*, which was regarded as much more conservative than the *Journal* in my hands, I take pleasure in saying that he and I never had a moment's trouble in working together harmoniously. Indeed he and I at last sought to buy the whole property<sup>2</sup> and conduct the papers as independent of party. Had we been able to accomplish that, might I perhaps not have the pleasure of being at work on the two papers with you now? But Senator Anthony, for obvious reasons, did not wish then to sell the *Journal* or change its policy. . . .

"As one who was present at the birth of the *Bulletin*, I am rejoiced to read in the record of its half-century of prosperity the prediction of its ever-increasing success and usefulness in the years to come.

James B. Angell"

The University of Michigan General Library contains a complete file of the Providence *Daily Journal* from August, 1860, to July, 1866, inclusive. These pages reflect always a keen penetrating mind and a shrewd judgment. They are a mine of unfailingly cheerful common sense, with which Angell daily faced the problems of alternating storm clouds and fair weather, of success and disaster. There seemed no difference in the unruffled confidence in his country with which on July 22, 1861, he reported that "the greatest battle ever fought upon this continent took place yesterday near Manassas Junction and resulted it appears in a brilliant victory of the national army" and the following day's record under the caption, "Onward Again: To the brave man defeat is only an argument for new effort. Our banner, which has been trailing in the dust, must be lifted up toward the stars. Overwhelming numbers . . . " (Like everyone else in the North, he was a chronic sufferer from the overwhelming numbers delusion.) "But," he goes on, "Why recount the disasters of yesterday? What is to be done? Everything!" Three months earlier, after Fort Sumter had begun the actual shooting war, the *Journal* "very reluctantly" issued the first Sunday extra in nearly twenty years. "The news was of such transcendent importance and the desire to obtain it was so general and so absorbing, that we did not feel at liberty to withhold it. We accordingly issued a very large edition at 6 o'clock in the morning and another at 7 o'clock in the evening. Our counting room [one clerk] was crowded by a little after six in the morning, some of the persons present having come from adjoining towns with large orders. Again in the evening . . . the press could not deliver the copies rapidly enough to satisfy the demand." On

<sup>2</sup> This in spite of anxiety for his health. See p. 75.



the previous day he had written: "Let us with one heart sustain our government . . . Let it be remembered that the southern government . . . is the aggressor."

"Parson" Brownlow's lecture in Providence on June 3, 1862, produced a long editorial concluding: "Last night what a picture was presented to us! Thousands and thousands of loyal men and women living under the most frightful reign of terrorism, persecuted even unto death for their fidelity, robbed, insulted, scourged, imprisoned, hanged for simply standing firmly by their country. . . We must presume that military necessity has prevented the government from relieving those brave people [in East Tennessee]. . . We hope that the day of her deliverance is now nigh. More ardently even than ever before do we long for her rescue since we have heard from her daring son, the Knoxville editor, the tale of her sorrows and suffering and heroic endurance."

After the catastrophe at Fredricksburg in December, 1862, he wrote: "We agree with those who complain of the meagre, unsatisfactory and deceptive nature of the dispatches which were at first sent us about the battle. We have on previous occasions expressed our opinion freely on the attempt to break the news so very gently to the nation when we have met with disaster. The nation is not to be treated as a child. The people can hear the truth with manly fortitude and resignation. Let it be told to them. They are disgusted and indignant at being misled."

The issue of July 1, 1863, with the Confederates advancing in Pennsylvania produced: "These are the days for the weak-kneed and faint-hearted to show of what pitiful stuff they are made. Perhaps they cannot help their weakness. It is an infirmity of their nature. But others cannot help feeling contempt or pity for the infirmity, and they cannot help expressing that contempt or pity. They cannot help contrasting with it the endurance which the rebels have evinced, while we have overrun State after State, captured fort after fort, and occupied seaport after seaport in the south. If the north had been made up of such timid and tremulous despondent creatures as those whose knees smite with terror whenever the horizon is threatening, we should never have wrested Kentucky and Tennessee and Missouri and Maryland and New Orleans and parts of North Carolina and South Carolina and Arkansas and Virginia and Florida from the enemy, but should have sat down moping and allowed the enemy to overrun the whole north, plunder at will, and dictate such terms as they liked. Is this the time to stop and wring one's hands in despair, and declare that all effort is useless? No! a thousand times, no! unless we are ready to confess that all traces of manhood have

died out in us, that we are craven-hearted cowards and weaklings . . .

"We repeat what we have before said, that never did a commander so expose his army to an attack on flank and rear as Lee has now done. And we cannot see how with any tolerable degree of skill Meade can help dealing him a tremendous blow. If the Army of the Potomac and the people of the north do their full duty, Lee's ravages in Pennsylvania will not be of long duration, and he will leave the State, if at all, with a crippled army . . .

"Let us rise in our majesty and might with an earnestness that will not hear of any such thing as permanent failure, with a determination that only grows stronger as obstacles multiply."

Then, six days later: "Some of our friends, who were cast down into the depths of despondency, when they heard of Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania, thought us very sanguine and perhaps unwise, as we expressed the opinion again and again last week that the movement would probably be disastrous to the rebels. But it seemed plain enough to us that the chances of ultimate success were against the invaders. Every step that they advanced increased their difficulties and multiplied our advantages. According to all ordinary military calculations the movement of Lee was exceedingly rash. There was only one ground upon which it could be justified, and that was the certainty that Lee's army was able to overthrow ours wherever the two might meet. And we have no doubt that Lee had the firm conviction that he could vanquish our forces anywhere. He did not conceal his contempt for Gen. Hooker, it is said. Indeed the audacity of his plan showed that he expected no very serious obstacles to his progress . . . The scheme was grand and daring. But Lee made the capital mistake of despising his enemy. And today he is paying the penalty of his mistake . . .

"The tide of invasion is turned back. A weight is lifted from the heart of the nation. The only question now is whether the retreating army can make its escape beyond the swollen Potomac.<sup>3</sup> . . . But at any rate, a brilliant success has been achieved. The rebels have been taught even more emphatically than at Antietam, that the invasion of loyal States is fatal to them."

In November, 1863, the editor was deeply moved by the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg. He printed in full the oration of Edward Everett and the immortal address of President Lincoln. He characterized as soul stirring the setting apart of a portion of the Gettys-

<sup>3</sup> This was the question that so agitated President Lincoln for many hours, and the final answer to which, in the event, sunk him in bitter gloom.



burg battlefield as a cemetery for the brave and loyal men who fell on those three days of July, and agreed with the belief of Mr. Everett in not doubting that "the hatred between the great mass of people at the south and the twenty millions at the north would soon vanish if the authority of the government were once restored." Already a tenacious Lincoln devotee, Angell was one of the comparative few who at the time saw in the President's brief Gettysburg Address the lofty eminence which later generations have accorded it. Not many critics then were saying: "But though Mr. Everett rose to 'the height of the great argument' to which he was called, not less felicitous was President Lincoln. We know not where to look for a more admirable speech than the brief one which he made at the close of Mr. Everett's oration. It is often said that the hardest thing in the world to do is to make a five minutes' speech. But could the most elaborate and studied oration be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring than those few thrilling words of the President? They had, in our humble judgment, the charm and the power of the very highest eloquence."

In the *Journal* of August 2, 1864, after the bloody and discouraging battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, and when the long siege of Petersburg had just begun: "It requires no sort of capacity to grumble; it requires neither intelligence nor information, nor patriotism, nor common sense. The less a man has of either, the better grumbler he makes. It is also the safest exercise of a shallow and discontented mind; for the men against whom it is directed are so situated that reply is often impossible without endangering the public interests, and always so inconvenient from the pressure of public business as to be impracticable. If all those who think that they could conduct the war better than it is done under the direction of the President and the Secretary of War and the Lieut. General, would enlist in a private capacity, our armies would feel the impulse of large reinforcements, and if they would fight the enemy as fiercely as they growl at the government their assistance would be as valuable for its character as for its numbers."

Angell wrote with frequency on the foreign scene, and especially on the reception in Europe of news of the progress of the American war. Along with his own deep approval of emancipation in its several stages, he recorded its effect on European opinion. Before the war, apropos of the American visit of the Prince of Wales, and the happy public reaction to it, he lets his imagination run with: "May we not now hope to see upon our soil the noble mother whose son has been so honored for the mother's sake?" Queen Victoria's husband died December 15, 1861,

and as soon as the news reached America, Angell wrote on the day before Christmas: "DEATH OF PRINCE ALBERT.—Even at this time of temporary estrangement between the United States and England, the news of the sudden death of Prince Albert will shock this country, and sympathy will not be withheld from her, whose high position affords her no exemption from the affliction which she, like the lowliest widow in her realm, is called to endure. We have no time this morning to speak at length of the life of the deceased Prince. But it is the general testimony that he has so borne himself in the delicate position he has occupied, as to retain the affection of the now bereaved Queen, to exert a healthy influence upon his children, and—as far as possible for a foreign prince—to command the respect and esteem of the English nation."

The editor did not like the early European recognition of the South as a belligerent: "If any of the European powers choose to meddle with our affairs, we shall meet her with the same determination that we are manifesting in the suppression of rebellion. There are many ways, which we need not now specify, in which we can deal effectual blows upon any nation which may intrude, and particularly upon England. But we desire peace with her, and believe that we shall have it" (May 24, 1861).

The Merrimac-Monitor battles in Hampton Roads, with their dumbfounding revelation of what ironclads could do to any wooden ships then afloat, on April 16, 1862, brought out: "Europe is greatly stirred. . . . In England there seems to be almost a panic on the subject.—John Bull is with justice alarmed at seeing that his boasted naval ascendancy, and the impregnability of his forts have vanished in a day . . . Danger may come at any moment, and he has no defence. At home, in the clubs, in the street, in the papers, in Parliament, everywhere, the talk is about iron-clad vessels, iron batteries, Monitors, floating forts, and the like. . . . Iron must take the place of stone. Movable forts must, to a great extent, supplant stationary forts."

On March 27, 1863, he went after the disloyal men in the North: "But one hope remains to them [the Confederates]. It is in the copperheads of the north; the men who love their party more than their country, and who will risk anything to the Union in their determination to break down the administration. To these men the rebels are looking for their last hope and comfort. If they prevail, the war will languish, the administration will be rebuked, and 'peace at any price'—even at the price of present dishonor and endless future calamity, at the price of a dismembered Union and a generation of border wars—will crown the efforts of treason. If the copperheads are beaten in the north the defeat of the rebels will follow in the south."



On July 6, 1864, the editor commented in good patriotic words to be justified later by the Alabama Claims Court: "It was with a thrill of joy that the nation heard yesterday of the destruction of the Anglo-rebel pirate, Alabama. . . We are not surprised that the English sympathizers with secession should take a deep interest in the Alabama. For she was not simply a rebel vessel. She was quite as much an English vessel. Let it be repeated yet again, now that she has gone, that she was built with English money in an English yard, launched and fitted under the English flag, manned in part by seamen from the British naval service, that she sailed under English colors and received a supply of English cannon and other munitions, and that till after that date she was actually owned by Englishmen, and then reflect if it is surprising that Englishmen took an interest in her fate. . . The Florida is now, we think, the only pirate steamer afloat. Let our cruisers now take care of her and let England and France discharge their duties as neutrals, and we shall have no more trouble from these pirates."

It was war time, but the arts of peace were not neglected, nor the memories of peace past or hopes for peace to come. There were complimentary references to a performance at the Academy of Music on October 16, 1863, of *Richard III* by John Wilkes Booth, only one and one-half years later to be execrated for his crime.

The editor always had pleasant special comments on the holidays of peace—Christmas, Thanksgiving, New Year's day, Washington's birthday. He urged support of the soldiers in the field, and the sending of little home delicacies especially for those in the hospitals. In the fall of 1861, blankets were called for. A year later, he recognized that much had been done: "The pocket as well as the heart of the north is in the present war. Probably some men have given to the country lavishly who had never been chargeable with the weakness of almsgiving." One such once summed up his defense of a contribution astonishing to his neighbors: "If I can't have any country, I don't want any money." Angell was for the new tariff for revenue, which had created such an uproar. He urged economy and self-denial. "Many of us will perhaps soon be, if we are not now, living more simply, more as we choose, and less as a despotic Fashion dictates."

He doubted the wisdom of government censorship. "It is very questionable whether the restrictions laid upon the press have prevented the rebel leaders from learning any important facts that they needed to know. They have doubtless made it more difficult for Davis and Johnston and Beauregard to obtain the desired information. But the rebels have

nevertheless obtained the information." He pointed out the contradictions and confusions that had resulted. "We cannot be blind to the fact that the character of our people, our habits, our institutions, is so inherently opposed to any interference with the liberty of the newspaper press, that when by general consent a temporary restriction was deemed necessary, the exercise of it only showed more clearly than we had supposed, how little was to be gained by it even in such times as these, and how much would be lost by it in ordinary times."

The *Journal* naturally was keen for the re-election of Lincoln and rejoiced in it when it came. In fact the paper participated ardently in all the politics of the time down to the day in 1866 when Angell himself was nominated for mayor of Providence. He had in no sense sought the nomination—in fact he had tried to avoid it. But when it was followed by a "bolt" on the part of some stalwarts who had a more conservative candidate in mind, he half humorously "supported the regular candidate," that is, himself. "We shall have to waive for the time whatever objections we may have to the candidate. We need not dwell upon his merits, if he has any, or upon his faults. They must be pretty well known to our readers. If they are not, then it is the readers' fault. 'We are authorized to say,' as the newspapers have it, that the position of candidate did not come to him from his own seeking or desire; that if he is elected, he will endeavor to do his duty faithfully; while, if he is defeated, he does not intend to take vengeance upon such of the readers of the JOURNAL as may see fit to oppose him, by inflicting duller articles than usual upon them." When defeated by a majority of 314, he was genially amazed at how close the lightning had come to him, since his successful opponent had an office only a few doors removed from his own. "A person said he once came very near being rich, as a millionaire died and left a fortune to the man who lived in the next house to him." But the secession from the party he did not condone.

On April 10, 1865, came exultation: "THE SURRENDER OF LEE. Petersburg is ours! *Richmond is ours!* LEE AND HIS ARMY ARE OURS!!! Such is the climax with which Gen. Grant has thrilled our hearts. Ten days ago Lee and his proud army bade defiance to our hosts. Yesterday the Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the Confederacy was our prisoner, one third of his Army of Northern Virginia were already killed or wounded, and the rest, with all their munitions of war, were in our hands. Ten days ago the Confederacy was a power. To-day its vital strength is gone. The physical force and the brains of the rebellion have



been captured by the brave Army of the Potomac. The Confederacy is virtually dead. The old Union lives again.

“PROVIDENCE ACTS AS IF SHE HEARD GOOD NEWS

Spontaneous Jubilations, Salutes, Chimes, Bonfires, Processions and Illuminations.

“We received the official news of the surrender of Lee’s army, last night about 10 o’clock. Information of the fact was immediately dispatched to the Governor and the Mayor, the bells were set to ringing, the glorious tidings spread like wildfire, and soon the people began to collect in and around this office, and on Washington Row and Weybosset Bridge, until they could be counted by thousands.”

When the rejoicing after Appomatox was abruptly changed to mourning by the President’s assassination, there was no light touch in the *Journal’s* comments. On April 15, 1865, in words whose emotions were to influence thereafter his attitude toward reconstruction in the South, the editor wrote: “The hour of our triumph is the hour of unspeakable sorrow. PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND SECRETARY SEWARD WERE LAST NIGHT ASSASSINATED!

“That noble man, most beloved of all men in the nation, the great, the good, Abraham Lincoln, was murdered in cold blood!

“Our pen almost refuses to write the words. But alas! alas! they must be written. That infernal rebel hate, which has pursued him with diabolical fury these four years and more, has at last robbed the nation of his precious life. Under the overwhelming power of this fresh grief, we are almost dumb. Thank God even in this our hour of unspeakable sorrow that the President lived to see the great triumph, to which he has led our nation. Though struck down by the assassin’s bullet, he goes to the skies followed by such love as no man save Washington ever received from this nation, and honored by the great and the good of all lands as is no other man of this age. The greatest martyr to this holy cause of freedom is the last!” When it became known that the attack on Secretary Seward and his son had left them still alive, he writes of the presumption that if General Grant had attended the theater party with the President as planned, he too would have been killed. It would be satisfying today to record that in his lament Angell was untouched by the frenzy for expiation of the President’s murder, but it was asking too much of the hours he was living through.

Two days later, on the seventeenth, he continued: “Such scenes were never before witnessed in this city as we beheld on Saturday. There was

lamentation in every household, as though death had crossed the threshold. The men of business forgot their buying and selling, and shed tears of grief as they met each other in the public streets. We never saw a whole community so weighed down with sorrow. Without any official suggestion or request, the general grief strove to find some expression in draping the buildings with the appropriate emblems of sorrow, and long before evening nearly every house and store and public building bore testimony to the universal sadness. Yesterday, although it was the glad Easter Day, the churches were dressed in mourning, and some of the clergy, and almost every worshipper, wore badges of some kind, expressive of grief. . . Every one felt as though he had sustained a personal loss, as though his father, to whom he had looked up with tenderest love and respect, had been suddenly struck down by the assassin. Said a hardy mechanic to us, 'The rebels killed one of my boys in battle, but much as I loved him, I felt as badly when I heard of the President's death, as I did when I heard that my boy was shot.'

"Presidents may die, but the government never dies! The assassin's shot may strike down the Chief Magistrate, but it cannot destroy the Republic. It is a time for weeping, but not for despair. The same God, who has preserved us and brought us thus far on our way, still reigneth in the heavens. In Him we trust."



# *Back to Academic Halls*

## CHAPTER XIV

*I*ncluding the years of part-time, Angell had borne heavy editorial burdens for eight years with annual vacations of a single week, when, in 1866, he felt that his health was being impaired. He had memories from his youth that alerted him to warning signals.<sup>1</sup> At the moment when fears of a breakdown were going through his head, there came not merely an opportunity to change his work, but urgent arguments and pleadings that he do so.

A cry for help and a challenge came to him from the Green Mountains, the erstwhile independent state of Vermont, whose memories ran back to—and back of—Fort Ticonderoga and Ira Allen with his dreams and Ethan Allen with his dual commission from Jehovah and the Continental Congress—Vermont with its unbroken history of self-reliant struggle for individual freedom. It was not so much a call to an outsider for help as a challenge to become one of them in their difficulties.

At Burlington on the shores of Lake Champlain there was a university of old and honorable history—not as ancient as Brown, but fit to rank with any New England college in the distinction of some members of its faculty and in the earnestness of its student body.

In his Founder's Day address at the University of Chicago, July 1, 1899, entitled "The Old College and the New University," Angell said: "In 1829 the Faculty of the University of Vermont drew up a paper on collegiate work which attracted much attention. It was the fruit of the earnest deliberation of a corps of gifted teachers, among whom were James Marsh and Joseph Torrey. Its most valuable feature was its careful arrangement of studies in a philosophic order, based on a profound study of the laws of mental development and of the nature and value

<sup>1</sup> In the *Journal* of January 6, 1866, Angell quotes a letter from President Wayland written after the breakdown that foreran his death and introduces the letter with words indicative of his own apprehensions: "Dr. Wayland on a side bench."

of different branches of knowledge. It may even now be read with interest and profit." The very seriousness of purpose animating University of Vermont students had, indeed, almost wrecked the University through their Civil War enlistments. For want of students and their fees the institution had come close to the stage of dissolution.

There had been heavy drain on the state's youth through deaths at the front. In proportion to the total population no state had sacrificed more heavily than Vermont. Moreover, the young men who came back had seen far more productive farms than could be found in their native hills and had heard of still more wonderful soils in the west. They hardly paused at home before they left to seize the new opportunities, and many of them took with them Vermont girls as brides. Vermontville in Eaton County and Castleton Township just across the line in Barry County, Michigan, were only two of the western communities largely settled by migrants from Vermont. The state had piled up what seemed a huge and hopeless debt in support of the war effort. French Canadians from the north and Irish from Massachusetts came in until some long-time Vermonters feared lest they should be "voted out of town." The people felt as if they were "climbing a hill in the dark," and the University shared in the discouragement.

The revival could not have been brought about without the federal legislation which had been adopted in 1862 and which bore the name of Vermont's own senator, Justin Smith Morrill. In the face of strong opposition from some of the old classicists, who almost preferred death to rescue at such hands, in 1865 the Vermont trustees voted to add to their University an agricultural college with the Morrill Act land grant subsidy from the federal government. Angell was wanted to sell the new idea to the hard-headed citizens of a state celebrated always for its high proportion of that kind of citizen, while at the same time he was to reincarnate in the University its old vigorous life of the spirit.

As usual when faced with a difficult decision he wrote to friends whom he had learned to trust. Rowland Hazard's reply leaned toward going to Burlington, though he felt there was much to be said in favor of a professorship at Brown, which by inference we may suppose he might again have had: "If you were a Baptist now you might in time aspire to the Presidency of Brown." Sewell S. Cutting, professor of rhetoric and history at the University of Rochester and a Vermont University graduate of 1835, confessed to being one of those who had suggested Angell's name to Vermont; he thought Burlington the most beautiful town in New England, and if Angell were to go there and do the work as well as



his friends expected he would, his "reward would be great in heaven and not small on earth."

On July 16, 1866, Angell wrote the trustees that he would accept the presidency should it be offered him, with these understandings:

"1. I am to receive a salary of \$2500. which is to be increased to \$3000. when the state of the University Treasury justifies such an increase.<sup>2</sup>

"2. That a strenuous effort is to be made at once to raise the sum of \$100,000 for the University.

"3. That the Agriculture College Dep't is to be organized at the earliest day practicable.

"4. That the proud traditions of the University as a school of thorough discipline & of sound classical & philosophic training are by no means to be violated, and the regular course is to be substantially pursued in its integrity, but that in rearranging the corps of professors & in enlarging the course of study, a wise regard is to be had to the reasonable demands of the times for new departments of instruction.

"Humbly & devoutly trusting that if I enter upon the duties of the office, He, who has so signally blessed the University in the past, will enable the Corporation & the Faculty to work harmoniously and effectively together, and that He will cover the Institution with His special favor."

Three days later the trustees telegraphed him notice of his unanimous election.

It would be difficult to make a better statement of the problems he faced and of their solution than the Federal Bureau of Education presented in 1900: "James B. Angell was inaugurated 1st of August, 1866, and entered with sagacity and vigor upon the difficult duties of the position. Money was to be raised, friends won and enemies to be conciliated; facilities and men provided for the new courses of instruction; repairs to be made, students to be gathered, and hope and courage to be infused into the whole constituency of the college. There were conflicting views and interests also to be harmonized. Not a few of the alumni looked with a feeling of jealousy and distrust on the 'agricultural' member of the firm; and the 'practical' friends of the new college deemed the successful raising of a bed of beets to be of more profit to the State, and

<sup>2</sup> It could hardly have been love of money that took him to Vermont. In the published list of incomes for 1864, his own was given as \$2,330, to which sum must be added an exemption of \$600 (*Providence Journal*, September 8, 1865). His father-in-law's income, including banking and manufacturing sources, was much larger, \$6,759.

more in the line of the real intent of Congress, than all the 'dead' languages and fine-spun metaphysics in the old-fashioned curriculum. Mr. Angell soon gave proof of his rare qualities, in the quiet yet masterly skill that characterized his administration. He had a large business capacity, tact in the development of his plans, and a quick insight into the characters and motives of men. His cordial manners and power of persuasive speech drew students and others into terms of liking and friendship, and disarmed the almost hostility with which some of his plans were regarded by some of the older graduates of the institution. He introduced, also, into the college, and into the relations of the college with the city, a new and exceedingly pleasant social element—one which has not yet ceased to characterize the intercourse of citizens and students. Under Mr. Angell's leadership the university made a steady advance both as to facilities and as to the number of undergraduates. By 1867 the alumni had subscribed \$25,000 to endow a professorship in honor of Dr. James Marsh, and about as much more had been promised for other objects. In 1869 Mr. Angell reported that there was already upon the books about \$75,000 of the \$80,000 which it was proposed to obtain immediately. This subscription was commenced in October of that year. The money was used in part for the renovation and remodeling of the college building, the equipment of the new laboratory, and the erection of the president's house. The catalogue of 1866 shows a total of 31 students; that of 1870, of 67."<sup>3</sup>

Let it not be thought that this pathetically small student body represented the academic status of the University of Vermont. Before the War between the States had depopulated its halls and cut off its source of supply of entering students, it had had a noble history. If "the wealth of a college is the life of her sons," the University of Vermont, even before Angell's time, was rich. Her graduates included names nationally known as scholars, statesmen, railroad builders, jurists. Henry J. Raymond who founded the *New York Times* was a graduate; so was Henry O. Houghton, famous as a publisher. In his *Reminiscences* Angell pays full tribute to the University's honorable past and acknowledges the responsibility he had assumed in his attempt at its regeneration. "Its standard of work," he wrote, "compared favorably always with the better New England colleges. Eminent scholars had held places in its Faculty. President James Marsh, one of the first Americans to commend Coleridge

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Education Bur. Circulars of Information, No. 4, 1900. *Contrib. Amer. Educational History*, "Vermont," pp. 152-53. The author for some reason omitted 91 medical students and 5 agriculture students in 1866. By 1871 the medical students had dropped to 48; the agriculture students helped make up the total of 67.



to us, was one of the most gifted philosophers this country has produced. President Wheeler, Professor Joseph Torrey, the translator of Neander, Professor Shedd, afterward a member of the Faculty of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, and Professor George W. Benedict, a most energetic administrator, had given to the college a reputation which attracted students from beyond the boundaries of the State. It had a good proportion of eminent graduates." It had also in Matthew H. Buckham of its Class of 1851, the man who was to succeed Angell as president of Vermont for a period one year longer than Angell's own term at Michigan, and was to realize the hopes Angell had envisioned.

The first of Angell's two special duties at Burlington was to convince the farmers of the state, not a class easily convinced, that the University of Vermont, while maintaining its high academic tradition, now proposed to do something in particular for the farmers themselves. His second duty was to put money in the University's purse, and all the activities entailed were to be carried on while revitalizing the campus itself.

Years later, in 1904, in an after-dinner talk at Vermont's Centennial Celebration, Angell looked back on the days when, as he said, it was thought advisable for him in the discharge of his duties to visit all the state and county fairs and compete with the two-headed calves and other curiosities in attracting public attention, and this was his only excuse for having tested the patience of the people of the state so long and so often.

He was five years in the Vermont presidency and even this brief period was broken into by the effort of the Michigan Regents to take him to Ann Arbor in 1869. This was not the only attempt to dislodge the new president of Vermont. Years later President Buckham recalled their thankfulness that Angell's Congregationalism was their great defense against the desires of some of the Baptist Brown authorities and partisans. Even so, the Vermont defenders at that time circulated the slogan: "Put no trust in Providence, but keep our President dry."

It was plain from his ceaseless activity that his health had not been permanently impaired. Nobody lacking vigor and endurance could have kept the pace. He visited Boston, New York, and Washington in search of loyalty and money. He found loyal friends everywhere and with their aid he found more money than anybody supposed he could when the quest began. In Washington, he remembered, Congressman Henry J. Raymond of the *New York Times*, just before the session opened, gathered five other alumni, including Thaddeus Stevens, in front of the

speaker's desk, and after signing himself for a generous sum induced all the others to subscribe. If in the office of the *Providence Journal* he had milked every cow that came into his enclosure, as president of Vermont he enclosed for his purposes every pasture in sight.

In addition to these financial quests he was very busy on the campus itself. There was not money enough to engage the full complement of professors, and the chairs of history, rhetoric, German, and international law were unoccupied. He was happily able to meet this situation by teaching all these subjects himself. His recompense lay in the contacts thus afforded him with all the students in the University. He taught every one of them in more than one subject. He was able to know them all, not merely by name and face, but as souls and, to use again the word to which he so often had recourse, he found delight in guiding their reading and thinking, and in helping shape their characters and plans. So far as it was possible in the larger fields into which his later years led him, he kept this living, vital, individual interest in boys and girls.

His growing friendship with the state was naturally most marked in the city of Burlington. Owing to the University's decline, the town had lost its pride in the institution, and the citizens were despondent about it. In the Centenary speech at Burlington in 1904 President Angell looked back to the first days of his residence, when one of his new fellow townsmen said to him that he was sure the University was looking up since it was so flat on its back that that was the only direction in which it could look. The first steps the new president and his wife took were toward bringing the citizens into closer relationship with the University.

They found it easy. The social changes then brought about have ever since been recognized both in the city and the University as something of mutually great advantage. The Burlington citizens were as a whole a very superior group and easily held up their end in town and gown relations.

As a site for a university it would be hard to excel Burlington. Its outlook in every direction from its gradually rising hillside is in itself educational and enriching. Immediately to the west, lapping the city's shores, is Lake Champlain. This noble and historic body of water, with its beautiful islands and shores that include Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point, fairly breathes American history and legend. Beyond it plainly visible lie Mt. Marcy and Whiteface and other Adirondack peaks. Along the city's northern boundaries runs the Winooski flowing now through the intervale meadows and then in sharp contrast through rock gorges, while eastward beyond the river there rise Mt. Mansfield, Camel's Hump,



and the Whiteface of Vermont. If the mountains that are roundabout Jerusalem diffused inspiration among the people, students of the University of Vermont were similarly the beneficiaries of Vermont hills, lakes, and rivers, as well as Vermont history.

Burlington itself then, as now, the largest city in the state, was substantial both in its appearance and its character. It had a population of about eight thousand in the decade when the Angells lived there. How well they succeeded in being good neighbors is recorded in some of the expressions of good will that attended their stay and their final departure after only five years. The brief triumph of his declination of the Michigan offer of 1869 had scarcely subsided when a renewal of the invitation took him away. During the half-decade the citizens of Burlington built a president's house on the campus. It cost \$14,000, and even in those days of postwar inflation that sum built a very commodious and comfortable house in Vermont. Angell enjoyed, in particular, Burlington's two most distinguished citizens outside the University, Senator George F. Edmunds and Mr. Edward J. Phelps, a Democrat who for national recognition had to await Cleveland's first administration, when he became minister to Great Britain. It was Senator Edmunds who later made the first suggestion to Secretary of State Evarts that eventuated in Angell's appointment to the Chinese Mission.

But the Angell friendships were not limited to the faculty and to leading citizens. When parting came the community understood the greater opportunity for helpful contacts with youth offered by a university having nearly seventeen times the students of Vermont and did not blame him for going. As one alumnus wrote him, "Much as we regret your going, I am exceedingly glad that you came. You have set the University in better relation to this and the coming time."<sup>4</sup> There were, of course, the usual resolutions of regret, but typical of the way he had throughout Vermont touched the "common man," there survive two or three examples worth recording.

Some weeks after he reached Ann Arbor the following came to him signed by thirty-four citizens of Burlington:

"Will you accept the accompanying watch and chain,<sup>5</sup> from a few of your many Burlington friends?

"It is not a testimonial to the College president, although we appreciate your honorable service at the head of our own University, of which

<sup>4</sup> Letter of John S. Gilbert, of Malone, New York, September 1, 1871.

<sup>5</sup> At his death Angell bequeathed this watch and chain to his grandson, James B. Angell II.

we trust the device we have caused to be placed on the case of the time-keeper may not unpleasantly remind you; nor to the citizen, though we remember well your true public spirit and prompt and hearty interest in everything which concerned our community while you were among us. It is given to the *man* and as a mark of our personal friendship and esteem."

And in the Angell papers at Ann Arbor there is a letter of August 4, 1871, transcribed in a super-Spencerian hand with many flourishes, making a whole that must have rivaled the celebrated muster roll of Colonel Israel Angell in the National Capitol.<sup>6</sup> The document bears the heading, "Hall of the Queen City Cornet Band, Burlington, Vermont," and reads in full as follows:

The following preamble and resolutions were Unanimously adopted at a Band Meeting holden last Evg. Aug 3rd/71

*Whereas*

Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Angell have on all occasions Where they have had an opportunity so to do Exhibited much respect for the members of our "Band" and ever used their influence for us Where the services of a "Band" were required seeming to realize the fact that home talent ought to be patronized and sustained.

"However" deficient we are in music "they" have ever shown a willingness to Encourage and sustain us. therefore

*Resolved*

That the members of the "Queen City Cornet Band" have heard with regret the intended departure from "Burlington" a place where they have rendered, such valuable services for the community.

*Resolved*

That the best wishes of the members of our "Band" will ever attend them and that a Kind "Providence" may guard and protect them on their journey is our wish and that they may find in their new home as many warm friends as they leave behind them.

*Resolved*

That a Copy of the above be furnished Mr. and Mrs. Angell by our secretary.

*Attest*

Nelson White Secretary

Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Angell  
Burlington, Vermont.

After a reference to the "not very jolly party left behind on the wharf at Plattsburg," by the departing family on the evening of August 30,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> In his book *Steelways of New England* (New York: Creative Age Press, 1946), Alvin F. Harlow has a chapter entitled "The Forty Years' War in Vermont." From



his brother-in-law, Professor Peter Collier, writing under date of September 10, felt impelled to add to his collection of community regrets a "string of compliments" he had heard while plodding down the street past a city construction job. "I stopped to talk with the *boss* of a gang of men digging the sewer. 'Well,' says he, 'we've lost our President haven't we?' I sorrowfully assented, when he rejoined, 'Well he was a good man and it's a pity he has gone.' 'Aye that's so, a good man he was' says another. 'And indeed you may well say that' says a third. 'And that you may.' 'I should like to have gone to Pres. Angell's college' from a fourth & fifth, and along up the trench until this wave of humble & honest praise died away in the distance. I now remember one of them saying 'he'll never know how many good friends he left in Burlington,' and 'twas this sentiment which was traveling up the ditch as I left."

President Angell prized these honest compliments from honest sources. Else he would not have preserved them. They show the basic source of his power over people—he loved the soul of his fellow man, and he had an unshaken faith he would be loved in return.

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this it would appear that the Vermont & Canada Railroad's success in excluding its rival, the Rutland, from access to Burlington made it necessary for the latter railway to ferry its freight and passengers across the lake to Plattsburg. Professor Collier and other friends presumably took the boat with the Angells to Plattsburg and "were left behind at the wharf" when the steamer sailed from Plattsburg for Rouse's Point, where next morning the Angell family took a train for Ogdensburg. From Ogdensburg they went by steamer to Detroit. The passage through the Welland Canal required fourteen hours and while the boat was in the locks, Angell wrote his father-in-law, "I drove over to Niagara with Eckie and Daisy. They enjoyed the trip much."

# *The Pursuit of a President*

## CHAPTER XV

*T*he events in Michigan of the two years preceding the Angell family's westward trek from Vermont must hold a considerable place in this story. Whether these events in their happy outcome be regarded as having the guidance of Providence or as mere luck, the confusion of thought and purpose of the early discussions among the Michigan Regents did not promise well. President Haven's actual resignation, in spite of his known uneasiness, seemed a complete surprise to them. Indeed, his final action was so sudden that his friend, the wise and gentle Professor Henry S. Frieze, believed he "had been hurried into a hasty decision to accept the presidency of Northwestern University by his Methodist brethren," while Andrew D. White, at Cornell, thought Haven "would have stayed in Ann Arbor if he had been left free to follow his own judgment." While apparently the only definite offer of the Michigan post was declined by Julius H. Seelye, professor of moral philosophy at Amherst, a considerable galaxy of academic stars—some shining much more brightly than others, came under consideration. Doubtless "were mentioned" would be a truer phrase in numerous cases than "were considered." The list as a whole included President Anderson of Rochester University, Judge James V. Campbell (who on legal grounds precipitately rejected the suggestion), President Chadbourne of Wisconsin, the Reverend Joseph P. Thompson of New York, the Reverend Theodore Cuyler of Brooklyn (some of those offering suggestions regarded being "an orthodox minister" as of first-rate importance), Professor Chester Lyman of Yale, Professors John Bascomb and Arthur L. Perry of Williams, and Angell's dear friend, Professor J. Lewis Diman of Brown, and others. There was, moreover an effort on the part of Presi-



dent Tappan's "old boys" to bring about an invitation to him to return, but the animosities attending his dismissal had not had time to die down, and this proposal came to no more than the other suggestions.

It is hard to understand how the divergency of opinion within the Board could have been reconciled within so brief a period as a year and a half. One regent had as his favorite candidate a gentleman who was characterized by a regental colleague as "an egotistical gas bag." When a committee of three regents was sent east to "spy out the land," they differed so much among themselves as to order and methods of interviewing the men they wanted to see—not to mention the choice of men to be seen—that one of the three packed up and came home alone. To the further embarrassment and considerable irritation of his colleagues he stopped en route to call on, alone, one or two candidates whom the other two also wanted to see. While most regents wanted to secure the best man they could and within reason to pay the necessary price, one believed they should try to find a young man of promise who would grow into the job and to whom they would not for the present "be obliged to pay so high a salary."

The story of the two years between the vacancy left by Haven and the filling of it by Angell has been covered in the correspondence gathered and edited by Wilfred Shaw in his small volume, *From Vermont to Michigan*, published by the University Press in 1936. This work of approximately 300 pages, includes one hundred and seven letters between scores of men. There is an introduction by James B. Angell's son, James R. Angell, then President of Yale. To Michigan men and women with a taste for history this book must ever be a fascinating compilation.

It cannot be wondered at that there were differences within the Board, with a certain nervousness being all pervasive. While Haven's formal resignation was not tendered until June 29, 1869, it had been known for two years that he was uncomfortable and troubled. And when in April, 1869, he was beset by a storm of newspaper criticism throughout the state after he had spoken from a Unitarian pulpit in Detroit, he seems to have made up his mind, even if the Regents were unaware of the fact. Fortunately for him the Methodist authorities at Northwestern took a broader view. When his resignation at Michigan and acceptance of the Northwestern offer were announced, his remaining Michigan days were made harder by such comments as appeared in *Zion's Herald*. He had been editor of this journal before coming to Michigan. It now came out editorially with the view that his departure from Ann Arbor was "the

severest blow the cause of secular university education has received. It is a practical confession by one of the most experienced and successful of college presidents, of the weakness and ultimate dissolution of State and secular colleges." Angell must have known of all this bickering as well as of the ominous "homeopathic situation."

The first mention of James B. Angell's name came happily from his old teacher, Professor Henry S. Frieze. It cannot be said that Dr. Frieze's nomination was made in a very loud voice, as he mentioned President Anderson of Rochester as his first choice and two others as possible seconds. This was only on July 2, three days after the Haven resignation, though after the longer period during which it might have been foreseen as a possibility. But one day earlier, on July 1, Professor Charles A. Kent, Vermont '56, of the Michigan Department of Law, had queried the Reverend Dr. John H. Worcester, Vermont '65, and temporarily a member of the Vermont faculty, about Angell's qualifications. Kent received a carefully worded, favorable reply, dated July 6, 1869. Worcester's sole doubt—and this is implied rather than stated—seemed to be with respect to depth of philosophic thought. Professor Kent was a partner of Regent Edward C. Walker in their Detroit law offices, and it is a fair inference that the Regent had inspired his partner's inquiries. Less than a week later Mr. J. E. Goodrich, superintendent of schools in Burlington, wrote: "My dear Kent: I don't know about your trying to steal our President, just because you have lost yours! I think, however, that Michigan University would do very well to get such a man as Angell for its head. He would be popular all through the State; and would be a good man to work with and under. He is a very fluent and graceful speaker, and not seldom really eloquent. Has a good knowledge of men and things, as well as of books—is, in a good sense of the word—a man of the world. He does not stand much upon his dignity . . . He might think it not just the thing to go away, just as the house, built expressly for him, is completed . . . But on the other hand I see nothing here to give him very great encouragement . . . Here he may not succeed. At Ann Arbor success is already certain."

One other letter may be quoted, dated July 28, from George P. Fisher, professor of ecclesiastical history in the Yale Divinity School, a senior at Brown while Angell was a sophomore: "I have been requested by two gentlemen [Regents Willard and Sill] to give you my impressions of Prest Angell of Burlington, with particular reference to his fitness for the presidency of your state University. I have known Mr. Angell since he entered College, and have known him well. He is an accomplished



scholar. He taught successfully the modern languages, for several years, at Brown University. He is an able writer, & had the principal charge of the *Providence Journal* for a long time. He is a man of firm character yet very amiable, and winning in his manners,—a religious man, without the least taint of bigotry. He is distinguished for his facility and tact, draws friends to himself, and has the power of influencing men. I should judge that he has all the administrative and executive talent required for the presidency of a large college. He is now in the vigor of life, being under forty.<sup>1</sup> I think that you would be fortunate if you could secure him for your vacant post. There are few men of whom I could say so much in their praise; but Angell is a rare man.”

On the whole the Regents moved with a promptness that might have served as a model to later boards having a similar problem. They had sought and received much advice from many sources. President Haven continued in office through the meeting of August 18, when realizing they could hardly hope to select, secure, and install a permanent president for the coming year, they elected Professor Frieze as President *pro tempore*. This wise action really solved two problems as Frieze had been proffered a financially much better position at the University of Chicago, even before John D. Rockefeller's gifts caused its finances to bloom. He much preferred the life of Ann Arbor, and the Board's action decided him. The committee of three (two plus one) had been sent through the East, and had reported. Regent George Willard and Regent John M. B. Sill,<sup>2</sup> later minister to Korea, had heard Angell give the Vermont commencement address and had had a charming conference with him at Burlington. They came from the conference convinced that “there is the man we seek.” By September 3, a decision had been reached by the Board that this man in the full vigor of his young maturity, who was now president of the University of Vermont which urgently desired to retain him, who had been for six trying years the successful editor of the esteemed *Providence Journal*, and for seven years an influential member of the faculty of one of the most respected universities of the East was undoubtedly the man they wanted. However, at the insistence of Regent Johnson, who had deserted Sill and Willard en route, and who continued to emulate the cat that walked by himself, they took one more look in the direction of Professor Seelye. Then Regent E. C. Walker, as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board, was

<sup>1</sup> An error by about half a year.

<sup>2</sup> See *Michigan and the Cleveland Era*, ed. by Earl D. Babst and L. G. Vander Velde (Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press, 1948), pp. 223-47.

unanimously authorized to invite James Burrill Angell to Michigan.

It was hoped that after these two months the quest was ended. As a matter of fact it had only begun. It was to be nearly a year and a half before *finis* might be written.

The Regents' attitude appears with such friendliness and candor in Regent Walker's letter to Angell as to justify quoting it in full:

"Detroit, Sept. 3, 1869

"President J. B. Angell

Vermont University

Dr Sir,

"I address you as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan.

"I am directed by the Board to tender to you a unanimous election as President of the University of Michigan.

"Upon the return of the Special Committee whom you saw, they reported two names as in their opinion best fitted for the position of President. Your own and Prof. J. H. Seelye's, of Amherst. Not being unanimous the Board was called together and the majority of the Committee reported that you was [sic] their first Choice and Prof. Seelye their Second. The minority reported in the inverse order. The Board after full consultation directed me as chairman to offer the Presidency first to Prof. Seelye and upon his refusal to accept, to you. I have just received his declination of the position. I therefore in accordance with the instructions of the Board—state to you that you will be unanimously elected President of Michigan University, if you intimate that you will accept the position. I have frankly laid the action of the Board before [you]. The action of the Board was in Executive Session, and the correspondence with Prof. Seelye has been private and confidential, as it is desired that this should be.

"You fully understand the reason of our course from conversation with our committee.

"Definite action was not taken on the subject of *Salary*. It will be \$3500 per annum and a roomy and comfortable house (with a large garden for fruit and vegetables attached)—*at least*. I desire that you should be entirely free to address me on the subject of Salary. We should be very sorry to allow any reasonable difference upon this matter to prevent your acceptance of the Position.

"I cannot but express to you the intense anxiety that is felt by the Board that you should assume this important and responsible position.



It has seemed to me, to one who would make his mark on the minds of young men one of the most desirable places in our country.

"Beyond yourself the Board have no one in view.

"We regret that the length of time taken by Prof. Seelye to decide has deferred the proposition so late. We desire you to take necessary time to decide the matter deliberately, and if you desire to visit Ann Arbor the Board will be happy to pay your expenses, to and fro. If you will call on myself or Prof. Sill at this place we will go out with you.

"Trusting that Providence will guide your decision so that the best results may accrue to the University and yourself I am very

Truly yours

E. C. Walker

Chairman of Ex. Com. of  
Regents of U. of Mich."

Angell wrote a prompt and appreciative acknowledgment of the proffer and asked for a time-out to think it over, promising meanwhile to visit Ann Arbor. Then without delay he again sought counsel from friends he knew were wise. These included his father-in-law first of all. Also high on the list was Professor Frieze who in his reply affectionately addressed him in view of old days in the preparatory school at Providence, as "My Dear 'Boy.'" There were also Professor James R. Boise, another former teacher, then at the University of Chicago but recently at Michigan, Professor William Gammell on whose wedding journey Angell had been a companion, Andrew D. White, Heman L. Wayland, then a professor at Kalamazoo College, and, of course, Rowland Hazard. There were numerous others. The replies naturally included a number of the "yes and no" variety. But also, naturally, those favorable to his going to Michigan were from men who had had western experiences or contacts: Frieze, Andrew D. White, Heman Wayland. Exceptions, men whose lives had been spent in the East but who, nevertheless, believed the scales tipped somewhat heavily toward Michigan, were President Caswell and Professor Fisher. Gammell of Brown saw numerous reasons arguing for Michigan but on balance his scales were tipped heavily toward staying in Vermont. Strongly opposed was everybody in the state of Vermont, except Professor Marsh, who saw a few reasons for going, along with many for staying. Rowland Hazard wrote from Europe: "I hope you will not go there. I do not know enough about the place to enable me to give advice of much weight, but I have so strong a prejudice against the west that I cant conceive of your liking it. Ogden who was

with us when your letter came says he has had inside views of the college. The trustees he says are very difficult to get along with. They are real western men and rough at that. One thing is quite certain, they have changed presidents very often as you will see by the records . . ."

Professor J. O. Murray of Princeton held the opinion: "I am very sure that no western city or town would give you and your family a residence such as you would have in Burlington. Because the one is New England, and the other is not and never can be. I speak with great confidence on this point. 10 years in N. E. is worth 15 out of it as a place to live in. Then again though I know comparatively little of Ann Arbor, it seems to me that the New England colleges have vastly truer ideas of what education ought to be. Their traditions and their connections are all in favor of the highest culture according to your notions. And lastly you have things so completely in your control at Burlington, that you can make it what you please. I am inclined to think you would find Ann Arbor a more difficult place in which to carry through your notions. Haven't Western men exaggerated ideas of the importance of scientific studies over liberal classic culture?" Governor Washburne, Senator Morrill, and the Vermont faculty put forth most urgently the arguments of duty to his present trust; he had "put his hand to the plow, . . ."

In due course he went out to Ann Arbor, where he left behind him and whence he took away with him most happy impressions. The desire for an academic marriage was mutual.

Twenty-seven years later at President Angell's quarter centennial, Professor Moses Coit Tyler wrote from Cornell University: "I am sorry that I cannot be at Ann Arbor to share in all these rejoicings. Certainly, if I could be there, I should try to get together once more all who are now left in this world of the company of men and women—members of the faculty and their families—who, one evening in the autumn of 1869, were assembled in the parlors of Dr. Frieze's house to greet for the first time the young President of the University of Vermont, then just arrived on a visit of inspection at the University of Michigan,—himself often spoken of at that time as the youngest and liveliest college president in existence, a description which I am inclined to think is applicable to him yet. I shall never forget that evening, or that interview with him. It seems to me as only a thing of yesterday, that, while we were all waiting for our guest to come down stairs, the noise of our mingled voices suddenly stopped as we became aware of his entrance into the room. There is no doubt, that on our part it was a case of love at first sight; for, though he found himself then unable to accept the call from



Michigan, yet so strong and hearty was the impression he made upon all who met him, that no one was able to accept that refusal as final . . .”

Angell met with a considerable delay in getting home again, due to floods.

It was related by a great American,<sup>3</sup> who later became President of the United States, that he was once on a train trying to convince himself that he might properly decline an appointment that he believed would sidetrack his greater ambition. Suddenly, the click of the wheels over the rail joints seemed to be repeating endlessly, “It’s your duty! It’s your duty!” and when he got home he accepted the distasteful situation. Ultimately, President Angell of Vermont was convinced that his duty held him where he was, and he wrote to Regent Walker a typical Angell letter saying so in terms so winning and gracious as to make the Regents and faculty all the more of the opinion that they must sooner or later have him. He had returned, as a matter of duty, the draft for \$150 sent him by the Regents to cover the travel costs of his journey to Ann Arbor. There is no available record whether the University in turn sent it back to him or whether it was retained to contribute to the solution of Michigan financial problems.

There was relief and satisfaction in Burlington, where they could not know that the day was soon coming when Angell would write again to Michigan, and this time he would say “yes.” Things at Vermont continued to improve, and there had been some informal correspondence during December, 1870, and January, 1871, between two never-say-die Michigan regents, Willard and Walker, on the one hand, and Angell on the other. In his letters Angell in a very modest manner made clear the demands upon him by a growing family. Correspondence between Professor Caswell and Angell during this period makes clear that the lack of money for living expenses created a constant problem for the younger family and that they were helped by gifts or loans from time to time.<sup>4</sup> Lois Thompson Angell had been born on February 15, 1863, and James Rowland Angell, on May 8, 1869. (Presumably they were both rocked in older brother Alexis’ cradle.) Madam Angell also came to be at times a part of the family.

The President’s house in Ann Arbor lacked entirely what were then

<sup>3</sup> William Howard Taft, who did not want to go out to the Philippines.

<sup>4</sup> Even after a half year at Michigan, following the expense of removal Angell still found himself short of money though he hopefully wrote his father-in-law with a picturesque New England phrase: “I hope and believe that now, if some unexpected trial does not come upon us, we may begin to pickle down something.”

admiringly spoken of as "modern conveniences"<sup>5</sup>—even a furnace. These his family would have to have as well as money adequate to live on. Of these things he had written the two regents. On February 7, 1871, Regent Walker telegraphed him: "You were unanimously elected president salary forty five hundred and house expense of removal." This message Walker next day confirmed and expanded: "We had fixed our hearts too strongly upon you to allow \$500 of salary to stand in the way. We were entirely unanimous and harmonious in the election, and complied in all respects with the suggestions of your letter to Regent Willard."

This phase was over<sup>6</sup> and another was beginning. On Commencement day, June 28, 1871, the new President gave the Commencement address and presented their diplomas to the graduates. Among these was Harry Burns Hutchins, who, forty-one years later, as President of the University would in return confer on James B. Angell the degree of Doctor of Laws, and make him for the moment the University's youngest alumnus.

<sup>5</sup> "President Angell once told me that there was one service he had rendered Ann Arbor and the University for which he expected never to receive appropriate credit. One of the conditions he imposed for his coming to the Michigan post was the placing of a water closet in the President's house. It was the first one in Ann Arbor." Shirley W. Smith, *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press, 1951), p. 265.

<sup>6</sup> The phase was over, but human nature being what it is, on February 22, Angell found himself writing Dr. Caswell: "I have suffered a little from the reaction consequent upon so grave a decision. I fall to thinking of the contrast between the magnitude of the work and my limited capacity to do it. But I trust that with reliance on God I shall have due courage for the undertaking."



# *Educational Philosophy of a State University President in the 1870's*

## CHAPTER XVI

*W*hile the official beginning of Angell's presidency was fixed by the Regents as August 1, 1871, he was not on the ground to stay until early in September. During his few days at the Commencement season, however, he had participated in the laying of the cornerstone of the then "new," later "old," and now "vanished" University Hall.

The *Encyclopedic Survey* sums up the problems the new President had to meet thus: "President Angell's administration . . . began at a period of marked unrest throughout the state concerning the future of the University. Many critics believed that the University was at the crossroads, that it might go forward or might easily become a second-grade institution. Among the causes of this perturbation of the public mind were the indifference of many members of the legislature to higher education, the Regents' summary dismissal of the first president, and the voluntary resignation of the second president after a brief service of six years. Many of the newspapers were unfriendly, and among the relatively few people who had a lively interest in the University there were serious disagreements. Two hostile camps debated the possibility of forcing the University to provide instruction in homeopathic medicine. Coeducation had been introduced not long before without faculty approval, and the validity of the recently adopted practice of admission on diploma had yet to be established. Prankishness and rough conduct were all too common among the students, especially in the frequent class 'rushes.' " It might be added that the strength of Acting President

Henry S. Frieze, did not include any distinction as a disciplinarian.

In the Commencement address the new President set out the considerations that led him to leave the eastern field for that of the then West. It may be remembered that four years earlier, when Harry Burns Hutchins left New Hampshire to study at Michigan, some of his relatives were genuinely puzzled that any sane young man should leave the educational offerings of good New England for those of the wilderness, and Hutchins had countered with the list of textbooks written by University of Michigan professors that he had used in his preparatory school. It may be admitted that the writing of textbooks as a mark of scholarship was regarded much more highly then than today. We have noted some of the arguments of Angell's associates against his own migration. But he knew at first hand some of the men whom the boy Hutchins knew only as writers of books, and Angell knew the kind of university which such men gathered on one campus would make. He trusted the future.

His Commencement speech is number one of the five on education which Angell chose to include in his *Selected Addresses* published in 1912. It was his credo as he faced his new problems. It weaves together mutual pride of state and institution, and their benefits each to each. It appeals to pride of ancestry and to determination that posterity should have an equal debt to its forebears of that day in which his hearers were then living. For the moment, at least, everyone who listened to the speaker must have felt himself a citizen of no mean country. The new President sketched in simple, appealing terms the pattern that the state of Michigan had set for the world in its exemplification of the words of the old Ordinance of 1787: "Religion, Morality, and Knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." "If we may regard the repeated appropriations of money to the University by the Legislature as establishing the policy of the Commonwealth to recognize a parental duty to this school of learning, that simple fact implies a just and lofty conception of the function of the State and of the University. Such action argues large and generous ideas of the powers and duties of the State. It contemplates civil society as charged not merely with the negative work of repressing disorder and crime, but also with the higher positive office of promoting by all proper means the intellectual and the moral growth of the citizens . . . . It assumes that it is just and wise for the State to place the means of obtaining generous culture within the reach of the humblest and poorest child upon its soil . . . . It is in complete harmony with John Milton's grand idea of the State as



instituted for something far higher than mere material interests. Is not that the only conception of the State which Christian philosophy will justify?"

It is significant that in this his first address to his new "fellow-citizens," only once or twice does the first personal pronoun appear. It is almost always "we," "us," "our." He was no stranger come to instruct them; he was one of them, and he made it very hard for them to disagree with one of their own folk. This may have been a conscious device on his part, but it is more likely that it simply expressed the way he felt.

He reviewed the changes of attitude in America and abroad, especially in Germany, toward the underlying purposes of education and the means for effectuating changes. "There can be no doubt that there has been a real drift towards some of the important positions early taken by this University.

"Two of these positions in particular may be named: first, the provision for a choice between different courses of study, and secondly, the furnishing of larger opportunities in the Modern Languages, in History, and in the Natural Sciences than were formerly afforded. Nearly every college in the land has made changes in its plan of work which recognize in a greater or less degree the desirableness of accomplishing these ends. It may be fairly claimed that the satisfactory results of the experiments here have not been without a decided influence upon some of the older institutions of the East, while they have evidently determined the form of the State Universities which have been springing up in the West. These are facts on which this University may fairly congratulate itself. These are triumphs for which it should gratefully cherish the names of my learned and efficient predecessors and of their faithful coadjutors in the Board of Regents and in the Faculty."

He speaks guardedly but optimistically of the experiment then less than six months in operation of the admission of women. Its development is being watched in the universities of the East, and when it proves successful a number of the schools of that section, and even some in Europe, may be expected again to follow the lead of Michigan.

Opportunity must be given to students to push their learning into levels higher than those of the usual four-year college course. "Students who possess sufficient maturity of body, of mind, and of character, and sufficient intellectual furniture and training, to carry on with earnestness and persistence a high order of work till they can reap

'A harvest of wise purposes  
Sown in the fruitful furrows of the mind;'

and instructors who are competent to guide and inspire such students, these make a university." But much haste may spoil a good college without making a university. The undergraduate work must not be underrated or neglected. "The essential thing in a university is *men* both in the students' seats and in the professors' chairs."

And "the ideal teacher is a rare man, for whose coming, when he is found, the University and the State should give thanks. It seems to have dawned but recently on men's minds that teaching in the college or university is a special profession, in which as a rule a man can no more attain high usefulness without natural aptitude and appropriate training than he can in any of the other learned professions . . . . To succeed in university work, he must have, first, in the very make of his mind and soul, the divine call to teach, and secondly, he should have a large general culture and a thorough special training in his own department. Unless he has the first of these qualifications, no degree of excellence in the second will crown him with success . . . . If he has not in him the power of kindling another mind with the fire that burns in his own, if he cannot bring his soul into such close and loving contact with that of a receptive pupil that the latter shall be stirred by his impulses and fired with his enthusiasms and imbued with his passionate love of the truth he teaches, he has not in the highest sense the teaching power. The best part of the help which a genuine teacher gives to his pupil often consists not in the formal information he communicates on this or that topic, but in the magnetism, the inspiration, the impartation of his own scholarly and truth-loving spirit. To this enkindling power he should add a kind of perpetual youthfulness, a freshness of spirit, which keeps living and warm his sympathies with the young, and which enables him to see things from the student's point of view as well as from the professor's. He must also possess the ability and the desire to be ever learning." And "with this rare combination of talent, scholarship, and temperament he must also unite a pure and manly character and a certain heroic disregard of the high pecuniary remuneration which other callings in life offer to men like him."

"Tell me," he asks, "if men who have wretchedly failed in other professions are likely to have sat for the portrait I have attempted to sketch? Tell me if men who are worthy of this vocation of the teacher do not deserve to be encouraged and honored and rewarded by the State which they serve?"

To have better students will require better preparation—more understanding and more maturity of mind. There must be ever-growing,





President Angell in 1875



Sarah Caswell Angell



heartly co-operation between the University and the high schools. The President felt the need for a widening range of studies from which students might choose. He used the class memorial gifts as an example that might well be emulated by larger numbers of citizen benefactors of the University, and in conclusion: "Men are of more consequence than methods . . . . No undue restraints should be laid upon the intellectual freedom of the teachers. No man worthy to hold a chair here will work in fetters. In choosing members of the Faculty the greatest care should be taken to secure gifted, earnest, reverent men, whose mental and moral qualities will fit them to prepare their pupils for manly and womanly work in promoting our Christian civilization. But never insist on their pronouncing the shibboleths of sect or party. So only can we train a generation of students to catholic, candid, truth-loving habits of mind and tempers of heart.

"The State and the University should feel that their interests are identical. The prosperity of the University is bound up in that of the State. Michigan cannot grow stronger, wiser, and happier without strengthening her principal seat of learning. The University is therefore constrained by every motive of enlightened self-regard, as well as by her unquestioned loyalty, to remain true to the interests of the State.

"On the other hand, the State can hardly overestimate her indebtedness to the University. This school has shed its blessings upon all classes and professions of men. It has given the best culture of the times to the poor as well as to the rich. In this respect its bounty has been even more marked than that of the common school. For hardly any boy is so poor that he might not, if necessary, obtain at his own cost the rudiments of education. But how few of our young men who have, almost without price, enjoyed the benefits of the ample resources of this University could possibly have paid the actual cost of their collegiate education. A great University like this is thus in one sense the most democratic of all institutions and so best deserving of the support of the State. This school has flooded with its light and strengthened with its strength all the subordinate schools. It has helped to lift the whole system of education in the State through the agency of the parents, teachers, and superintendents, who have carried from its halls lofty ideals of intellectual work. It has won for the State an enviable renown among all friends of learning in this land, and has caused the name of Michigan to be spoken with gratifying praise beyond the Atlantic.

"All history attests that there is no instrumentality by which modern nations have done so much to increase their strength and happiness, to

perpetuate the influence of their ideas, to win the honor and gratitude of mankind, as by their great schools of learning. Bologna, Salerno, and Padua thus stretched the sway of Italy far into transalpine lands. Paris has for centuries been the intellectual exchange of Europe. Oxford and Cambridge have helped to mould the lives and daily thought of every one of us. The sceptre of Berlin and of Bonn rules over a territory a hundred-fold wider than that which Bismarck has laid at the feet of his Imperial master. Dynasties come and go, Bourbons, Napoleons, Tudors, Hohenstaufens appear and disappear, kingdoms and States rise and fall, but amid all the vicissitudes of earthly affairs the great universities are the most vital and enduring of all human institutions.

"This University is yet comparatively in its infancy. Citizens of Michigan, you who are now building its walls are really laying foundations. Let no penny-wise economy tempt you to use untempered mortar. Divine Providence has opened to you a golden opportunity, such as comes not often in the history of a State. Seize upon it with thanksgiving. Show by the largeness of your work that you appreciate the call, and the favor of Heaven shall rest upon you and generations shall rise up to call you blessed."

Eight years later, almost to a day, Angell again gave the Commencement discourse, and this one he selected as the second address in the collection of 1912. There had been a series of disappointments in finding a speaker. General James A. Garfield, Secretary William M. Evarts, and others declined in view of political and other situations in which they were involved. If any of these were in more "involved situations" than the President of the University of Michigan, for reasons that will appear in the following chapter, they must have been bedeviled indeed.

Whether the University's Committee on the Commencement exercises felt that he would be encouraged and heartened by the confidence in him to be inferred from an invitation to speak at Commencement or whether their action was their last resort, they formally invited him to be the Commencement orator, calling attention to the opportunity it would afford to place the University in the focus of "an enlightened public opinion." With very little time to prepare, he accepted the invitation and set himself to the task. His subject was "The Higher Education: A Plea for Making It Accessible to All."

This was a theme that had been prominent in his inaugural, as in fact it was a thesis which he had argued often in the intervening eight years and to which he returned again and again throughout his presidency. The two addresses could be regarded as embodying his philos-



ophy for a state university. Addresses he made at the University of Missouri in 1895 and at the University of Chicago in 1899 amplify and broaden with new thought, but do not modify the ideas with which he began and closed the first eight years of his Michigan service.

On Commencement day of 1879, he enforced and illustrated this truth: "It is of vital importance, especially in a republic, that the *higher education*, as well as common school education, be accessible to the poor as well as to the rich," and this implies first of all that by some means it must be furnished at less than cost, otherwise the great mass of the students would of necessity be excluded from the higher schools.

If men are created equal, by every ethic every child has a right to more than a bare possibility of developing, with aid of such talent, self-denial, and energy as he may have, the intelligence and altruism with which nature endowed him. "What more touching spectacle is there than that of an ingenuous and high-spirited youth, consumed with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, endowed with faculties that might make him the peer of the greatest, yet chained by the heavy hand of poverty through all his best years to the foot of the ladder, on which his aspiring soul would, if unfettered, so easily and so joyously have mounted to the stars."

Yet it is not merely for the benefit of the individual himself but for that of society at large that higher education should be available to all who crave it. The country needs all the intelligence and all the trained minds it might have, and "God bestows talent with impartial hand equally on the rich and the poor." Burns, Faraday, Lincoln, Edison are examples of the way the "rarest gifts of mind are dropped in the obscurest homes." "Wisdom lifteth up the head of him that is of low degree, and maketh him to sit among great men."

The country cannot afford to foster class hatreds by limiting the power of developed minds to the well-to-do alone. And finally, the Christian doctrine from its beginning has favored bringing liberal education to men of humble means. The monasteries were the preservers of learning through the Dark Ages, and the early colleges and universities were founded and maintained by the Church. Whatever criticism may be made of the Church, it has "with impartial hand held wide open for men of high and low degree alike the gates to generous learning," both in Europe and in America from colonial times. And now these states of the old Northwest have all espoused these doctrines, and their colleges and universities have risen after the pattern first set and activated by Michigan. "[Let us not be led] to the fatal mistake of building up a

pedantic aristocracy. Good learning is always catholic and generous. It welcomes the humblest votary of science and bids him kindle his lamp freely at the common shrine. It frowns on caste and bigotry. It spurns the artificial distinctions of conventional society. It greets all comers whose intellectual gifts entitle them to admission to the goodly fellowship of cultivated minds. It is essentially democratic in the best sense of that term. In justice, then, to the true spirit of learning, to the best interests of society, to the historic life of this State, let us now hold wide open the gates of this University to all our sons and daughters, rich or poor, whom God by gifts of intellect and by kindly providences has called to seek for a liberal education."

These addresses were both well received. The first president of the University of Minnesota, Dr. William N. Folwell, wrote in the fall of 1871: "I beg to inquire whether any considerable number of copies of your Inaugural address can be had 'for love or money'?"

"Not the least part of my work here is the education of a Board of Regents and of a public. Anything emanating from Michigan is heard gladly here, and I wish that I could put in to the hands of some of our earnest, thinking men the pamphlet I write of. It is an able, clear & worthy statement of the University idea as it is now developing in fact in America. Your appeal for the elevation of the secondary schools cheers & comforts me. I want some of our High School men to know what is doing in Michigan."

Of the address of 1879, the ever-concerned Andrew D. White wrote from the embassy in Germany: "It is masterly—the best presentation of the right doctrine I have ever seen. Don't fail I beg of you to have it printed in pamphlet form & sent to men struggling for the other State Universities of the West. Yr ship is evidently coming in. Your State will do all that is necessary now. You will see the Buildings & Professorships wh. I used to dream of as I lounged upon the Campus at Ann Arbor."

Doubtless as he read these heartening words from his friend, President Angell said to himself, "I hope so!" He could not be sure yet.



# Trouble

## CHAPTER XVII

*O*utside of family bereavements, the eight-year period between the two Commencement addresses unquestionably involved more unhappiness for James B. Angell than any equal span in his entire lifetime. This is particularly true if it be remembered that the most serious of the three conflicts was still raging at its height in 1879, with no certainty of its ultimate settlement, or even its subsidence. This was the celebrated—if that is the word—Rose-Douglas controversy. For the spite, malice, injustices, and diversity of conclusions involved, no set of circumstances in the entire history of the University has ever approached this long-continuing conflict. It wore on the nerves of everybody until even the redoubtable hard-fighting Regent Claudius B. Grant wrote in 1879, “I rejoice as the end of my official term approaches. I verily believe that another year would kill me.” And Professor Isaac Newton Demmon, whose University career was nearly equal with the President’s, once observed to Wilfred Shaw, “Dr. Angell was never quite the same after the Rose-Douglas battle.” It began in 1875 and was not “settled” until the Regents complied with the decision of the Supreme Court in 1881.

But earlier there had been the so-called Homeopathic question, and a trying matter of what might be called wholesale student discipline, besides the run-of-mine problems that come to the head of a large state university—and Michigan was *very* large for those days.

Among the more satisfactory developments was the experiment of co-education. The women turned out to be excellent students, exerting no ill effects on the scholarship or the morals of the campus. Criticism subsided almost to the vanishing point. President White came on from Cornell to study the question in anticipation of the establishment of Cornell’s Sage College, and in view of what he found, in May, 1873, he addressed to President Angell an invitation to be guest of honor at the laying of the Sage cornerstone: “You, as standing at the head of the most

important institution that has admitted young women as students ought to be with us." The only real embarrassment that had occurred was embodied in a report printed in the *Detroit Post* quoting President White in an address at Oberlin: "When I wrote to my friend, the President of Michigan University, and asked him what the character of the women must be who attended school where the males were also educated, he replied that he supposed that they belonged to the 'unlovely class.'" President Angell promptly wrote the *Post* that not only had he had no correspondence with President White on this subject, but he had never expressed or thought of expressing such a view to anybody. And later Dr. White also vigorously denied using the words attributed to him. So peace returned to this section of the field.

The new relations with the high schools also were working well. The President as well as professors went out to examine schools and made contacts broadening and otherwise beneficial to all concerned. Letters came from other states and other schools, including Harvard, seeking information on methods and results. North and South, officials and private citizens were interested in integrating their school systems from top to bottom. Michigan found that the mortality at the examinations closing the first semester increased a little among freshman classes, but this in turn resulted in helpful advice to the weaker schools, and in great measure corrected itself.<sup>1</sup>

A happy day for the Michigan campus was October 3, 1873, when University Hall gave the institution for the first time an auditorium not only of its own, but far greater in seating capacity than the local churches had previously provided. The President was well pleased not only with the hall "seating comfortably 3400,"<sup>2</sup> but with the classrooms, lecture rooms, chapel, and offices.

These items were all pleasant to experience and to contemplate. But along with the sweet came much that was increasingly bitter. Angell

<sup>1</sup> Acting President Frieze wrote Angell on December 22, 1880: "He [Pettee] has worked out with mathematical exactness and with long and severe labor the question of the relative success of 'diploma' and examination students. You will be highly pleased with the result, and satisfied with its correctness. The showing is decidedly in favor of the system. Not that it indicates any great difference in the scholarship of the two classes as yet, but certainly a marked tendency during the last four or five years on the part of diploma students to advance the grade of their preparation above that of the others. We are about to have a discussion on the subject in the State Teachers' Association and on that account the facts brought out by the report will be in good time, and powerfully sustain the system."

<sup>2</sup> *President's Report for 1873-1874*. The figure is about 500 in excess of the actual seating capacity.



had known when he chose Ann Arbor in preference to Burlington of "the Homeopathic Question," and he was prepared for it.<sup>3</sup> Whether he could foresee that it would never until 1895 cease to simmer, and at times boil over, seems doubtful. From 1895 with the appointment of the strong and wise Wilbert B. Hinsdale as Dean, the Homeopathic Medical School lived in comparative peace, both outwardly and internally, until in 1922 it ceased to exist.

In these days of scientific medicine founded on proved experiments it is difficult to imagine the pugnacious vigor of medical opinions in a day when they must so largely have been based on what has been called the theory of notions. Doctors of great reputation, of all "schools," looked at tongues, poulticed and fomented, thrust operating needles into lapels long serving such purpose, and discoursed of "laudable pus." It is not to be wondered at that the sects of medicine rivaled the bitterness of the sects of religion in their intolerant conflicts of opinion.

One whose life has been lived entirely outside the period can with difficulty, if at all, realize the extent and the heat of the embroilment that followed the promulgation by the German Dr. C. F. S. Hahnemann of the theory which he called *similia similibus curantur*, "like is cured by like." He named the converts to his idea who engaged in the practice of medicine, "homeopaths" or "homeopaths," and he denominated members of the medical profession who followed the old, long-accepted lines, "allopaths." For what each school called the other, one would need an unabridged dictionary of epithets. Hahnemann had observed that certain drugs administered to persons in normal health could be expected to produce certain symptoms of disease, and he reasoned, and believed that he had proved, that administration of the drug to a patient already suffering from the disease, would be followed by improvement or cure. In spite of the fact that the "regulars" pronounced this theory the veriest quackery, the results were accepted by large numbers of people as demonstrated in practice. The homeopaths had a multitude of adherents. It was a full century after Dr. Hahnemann announced his theory in 1796 before the controversy began to subside in the rise of scientific medicine. In the 1840's homeopathy had several hundred embattled practitioners in the state of Michigan.

Even before the establishment of the Medical Department in 1850, the Michigan Institute of Homeopathy had appointed committees to present their claims to the Regents, though it was not till 1851 that these took form as actual requests. The petitioners wanted the legislature

<sup>3</sup> See p. 2.

to abolish the Medical Department unless homeopathic professors were added to the faculty. This was the opening gun of a battle that was not to have a truce until 1875, when the Homeopathic Medical College was established in Ann Arbor. In the twenty-four intervening years there had been legislative investigations and reports, emotional documents aplenty filed by doctors of both schools and by laymen, proposals to establish a homeopathic college in Detroit, proposals to appoint two professors of homeopathy to membership in the medical faculty (followed promptly by that faculty's threat to resign). The constitutional status of the Regents as solely responsible for the University was a part of the ever-shifting picture. There was throughout the period, and later, a good deal of debate by epithet, from which Judge Cooley and President Angell after his arrival, were not immune, although each employed a homeopathic physician.<sup>4</sup> Even after the setting up of the Homeopathic College there was wrangling on the campus and within the profession. Many of the latter wanted the college removed to Detroit (a question finally settled in 1895 by a decision written by Justice C. B. Grant), while the Medical Department faculty did not want it anywhere. The length to which such a contest could go is illustrated by the rude remark of Dr. Samuel A. Jones, the highly educated, peppery first Dean of the Homeopathic College (and a professor from 1875 to 1880), bluntly conveying to President Angell Jones's view that he "didn't have lime enough in his backbone to whitewash his old bald pate!" Many other accusations were hurled at many other people which were equally insulting if less original.

After the homeopathic professors resigned *en masse* in 1895, a result largely of the ever-present dissensions within their own profession itself, the Regents started afresh with an entirely new faculty. With the coming of the days when doctors and patients alike demanded that teachers and practitioners of medicine should *know* by factual research and laboratory results just what they were doing and saying, doctors became so busy in keeping abreast of progress that they had little time to thresh over the old straw. More and more so-called homeopaths were identifying themselves and being accepted merely as doctors. Dr. Walter H. Sawyer, Regent from 1906 until his death in 1931, was a graduate of the Homeopathic Department in 1884 and was on the staff of the Homeopathic Hospital for a time thereafter. But before many years he was so fully identified with medicine and surgery as a profession rather than as a "school" that he was chosen president of the Michigan State Medical

<sup>4</sup> *The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey*, II (1944), p. 1006.



Society. Throughout his regency he was the most influential member of the Board in the mutual interests of the Medical Department and the University administration. In 1922 the Homeopathic College was abandoned; two professors of homeopathic theories served peacefully within the Medical School faculty for a year or two more, and then the entire matter became of interest to almost no one except the historian.

It has not been unusual for the University of Michigan to be called a godless institution, but in 1873 the wind blew from the opposite quarter. A Detroit newspaperman, named Stephen B. McCracken, submitted to the Senate of the state a memorial in which he charged the University with disregarding the Constitution of the state by assuming a sectarian, that is, religious, character. Along with other complaints McCracken was irked that at the inauguration of President Angell, Acting President Frieze had presented him to the audience as "an earnest Christian." He quoted various statements of the President to the effect that the University was not only a Christian institution but that Michigan was itself a Christian state. The legality of these views and of an administration based on them was vigorously challenged. Within a month a committee of the Senate came to Ann Arbor and interviewed President Angell, members of the faculty, Mr. McCracken, and others. The University did not attempt to refute the charges but held that only denominational teaching could be termed sectarian. After listening to all parties concerned, the Senate committee dismissed McCracken's charges thus: "We are unanimously of the opinion that the general charge of sectarianism is a mistaken one. The teachings of the University are those of a liberal and enlightened Christianity, in the general, highest and best use of the term. This is not, in our opinion, sectarian. If it is, we would not have it changed. A school, a society, a nation, devoid of Christianity, is not a pleasant spectacle to contemplate. We cannot believe the people of Michigan would denude this great University of its fair, liberal, and honorable Christian character, as it exists today." This disturbance subsided as promptly as it had arisen.<sup>5</sup>

Questions of discipline were annoying but much more easily handled than some others. Even during the two-year term of Acting President Frieze a passing circus parade had instantly and noisily emptied a number of recitation rooms. Naturally, the faculty thus deserted felt there

<sup>5</sup> "Religion and the University of Michigan," a history thesis (1948) by Norman Drachler (Univ. Mich.).

was something disrespectful both to themselves and to the goddess of learning when a caged menagerie was regarded as of more commanding interest. As a result, on May 25, 1871, fifty-two students were suspended until the following September. Among them were a number who later came to be regarded as shedding distinction upon the Alma Mater who had thus disciplined them.

In spite of the optimism expressed by President Angell in his letter to Peter Collier of September 28, it was not long thereafter that the chapel seats customarily occupied by the sophomores one morning proved to be coated with fresh varnish. On another morning a horse with no apparent evil intent on his part was found to have intruded into the chapel. These "run-of-mine" diversions were not too seriously regarded. But hazing was becoming less and less popular with the faculty and the community as it grew in favor with the two lower classes of students. There were warnings, and when in the early spring of 1874 three freshmen and three sophomores were caught wet-handed in holding members of the rival class under a pump spout, they were promptly suspended. This action was speedily countered by communications signed by 106 sophomores and freshmen protesting the disciplining of the six when "we were equally guilty." The boys must have felt there was an irresistible power in numbers. But the faculty after waiting five days, took action resulting in the dispatch by the President of the following letter to the parents of 39 sophomores and 45 freshmen:

"University of Michigan

May 5, 1874

"Dear Sir: It is my unpleasant duty to inform you that the Faculty have found themselves under the necessity of suspending your son from the privileges of the University until the beginning of the next academic year, for the confessed offense of hazing and for conduct which was practically an interference with the government of the University.

"It is proper that a brief statement of the chief facts in the case be made to you. April 25th, six students, three Freshmen and three Sophomores, were suspended for the remainder of the academic year for disorderly conduct known as hazing—an abuse which has brought great discredit on the University. On the day that this was made known, a large number of students of the two lower classes marched through the streets with unbecoming demonstrations, and publicly insulted some members of the Faculty. For the personal insults they afterwards apologized.



“About half the members of each class then signed the following papers respectively:

[SOPHOMORE PAPER.]

To the Faculty of the University of Michigan:

Whereas, Some of our class-mates have recently been suspended from the University for the offense of hazing, and

Whereas, The undersigned desire that justice shall be done to all,

Therefore, We respectfully request the attention of the Faculty of the University to the fact that we also have been engaged in hazing.

[FRESHMAN PAPER.]

To the Faculty of Michigan University—Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned, members of the Freshman class, wish to respectfully inform you, that in the affair for which three of our number have been suspended we are equally implicated with them; and protest against the injustice of suspending three of us only.

“These papers were presented to the Dean of the Faculty and by him lodged with the Steward. You will judge for yourself whether they were not expected to embarrass the Faculty in their disciplinary action. The Faculty were constrained to believe that the papers were expected to accomplish this result. But supposing that the signers had acted hastily and impulsively, the Faculty left the papers for five days in the hands of the Steward where the signers could have access to them, either to withdraw them altogether or to remove their names individually. Twenty-two students did withdraw their names. But your son, with all this time for deliberation, left his name on his paper.

“The Faculty therefore after patiently waiting for him to change his view if he desired, have felt it to be their painful duty to suspend him. He is expected on his return at the beginning of the next academic year to pass his examinations in all the studies which his class are to pursue during the remainder of the semester, except Botany, and to give a written assurance that he will not again engage in hazing or in an attempt to interfere with the government of the University, during the period of his connection with this Institution.

“The Faculty trust that you will see that they have employed the utmost leniency compatible with the preservation of good order and good government in the University.

Yours respectfully,  
(signed) James B. Angell  
President”

The spread of hazing upon the Campus was checked that day. The public approved; state officials approved; and especially other college presidents having similar problems approved. Andrew D. White wrote from Cornell saying that on his request he had received a list of the offenders, none of whom would be allowed to migrate to Ithaca. Even a considerable number of parents felt it would be a good thing for their sons to learn respect for law.<sup>6</sup>

But much worse than hazing was yet to come—and was to stay a long time. This was the Douglas-Rose or Rose-Douglas controversy. Dr. Silas H. Douglas had a long and honorable record with the University dating from 1844, when he became assistant to the Professor of Chemistry. In the thirty-three years until his connection ceased he held, at various times, professorships in half-a-dozen subjects. He was one of the most influential members of the faculty and one of the most respected citizens in Ann Arbor, and in view of developments it is worthwhile to mention that he had many influential relatives and friends and that he was a member of St. Andrews Episcopal Church. The other principal figure in the contest, at least originally, was Dr. Preston B. Rose, a graduate in the Medical Class of 1862, and a surgeon with the Fifth Michigan

<sup>6</sup> On May 10, 1874, Angell wrote to Caswell some details of the conflict: "There are two chief troubles in the matter. 1. Hazing is regarded as innocent by nine tenths of the students. 2. For years the students here have regarded it as their privilege and duty to criticize & condemn the disciplinary action of the Faculty. They have never been confronted on that point. It is not impossible that we may yet have a war of extermination on that question. For the great body of students are very ill-natured on this action of ours. They are, I think particularly in ill-humor, because my old editorial instincts led me to outstrip them in getting our statement before the public. One dodge of theirs has always been to telegraph & write to papers their statements. The night we suspended the crowd, I had the Telegraph operator in waiting, & had him send off to the Ass'd Press a ringing 'Order,' which the Faculty passed, setting forth our action & our views on the subject. Before they knew they were suspended, this was flying everywhere. And the papers of the State opened a merciless fire on them. The Detroit papers publish almost nothing from them. They said at first that I had bribed the Detroit papers!! But since the New York Tribune & other papers have pitched in, I hear less of that.

"I have by every mail a pile of congratulatory & grateful letters from teachers, college men & friends of the Univ<sup>y</sup>. I had no idea there was so deep a feeling on the hazing matter.

"But in our minds the question of interfering with the government is much the graver one. I am determined that I will not administer an Institution, in which that is to be allowed."

And one week later he wrote again to the beloved old Baptist back in Providence: "I have had only one letter of complaint, and that, I am sorry to say, is from a Baptist minister, who cudgels me with the Declaration of Independence, and says 'all government is by the consent of the governed,'—even college government. I think the affair is likely to be of great help to us."



Infantry in the Civil War. In this patriotic capacity he lost a leg from wounds. Both before and after his army experience he served as assistant in chemistry, and from 1875 he was Assistant Professor. He was a gentle, unassuming little man. His membership in the Methodist Church was a powerful element in the sectarian controversy that involved itself with the main question of which one of the two men was guilty of a defalcation in handling chemical laboratory receipts from students. Their respective friends found it hard to believe that either was thus culpable.

The two—Dr. Douglas, the professor and laboratory head, and long a prominent, well-to-do citizen, and Dr. Rose, the assistant professor and accountant in charge, much younger and of lesser financial substance—were both supposed to check the receipts and to agree. It is reasonable to believe that there must have been mutual confidence since had either mistrusted the other enough to make his own comparisons and check marks, the discrepancy could not have arisen. In October, 1875, Dr. Douglas reported to President Angell that he had discovered a deficit. The Regents took an action intended to strengthen the running audit of student fees from the time they were paid at the laboratory until they were in the hands of the University treasurer. The customary course was from the student, to Dr. Rose, to Dr. Douglas, to the treasurer, though to complicate matters still more, Dr. Douglas had authority to make expenditures from these monies in behalf of the University.

An investigating committee consisting of the President, Dr. Douglas,<sup>7</sup> and Dr. A. B. Prescott found the deficit for 1874–1875 to be \$831.10. Dr. Rose paid this, raising the money by mortgaging his house. This house stood at the northwest corner of Jefferson and State streets, on a lot now covered by the Administration Building. The Douglas family home was on Huron Street in a house now numbered 502 and occupied by the First Baptist Church as the Roger Williams Guild House for young people. Later, after a Regents' report in December had fixed the deficit over a period of several years at \$4,718.62, Dr. Rose gave a trust deed of his house to the treasurer of the University. By this time the situation had become public, and besides the investigating committees of the Regents and of the legislature, and besides proceedings in the courts, there sprang into action a long roster of self-appointed prosecutors and defense advocates, juries, judges, inquisitors—all articulate. The year

<sup>7</sup> An appointment to the investigating committee in itself is indicative of the confidence in Douglas. But it was a peculiar and an unfortunate choice.

1876 was an election year, and the virus known as "politics" injected itself and spread, resulting in due course in there coming upon the Board, two by election and one by appointment to a vacancy, three new Regents, pledged to themselves at least, to "see justice done." But secular politics, it turned out, could learn something of bitterness and hatred from the Methodists on the one hand who espoused the cause of Dr. Rose, "the under-dog," and on the other hand from the other sects (though Regent Duffield, one of the four who supported Dr. Rose, was a Presbyterian minister) who were for Dr. Douglas, or at least against the Methodists. The chief anti-Douglas, pro-Rose spokesman soon became Mr. Rice Beal, publisher and editor of the *Ann Arbor Courier*, always an ardent Methodist, a power in local and state Republican politics, and a man of great force and viselike pertinacity.

The only purpose in reprinting here a few examples from the *Courier* of the many columns of "arguments" advanced is to give the reader who knew or has known of President Angell only in the days of his "semicanonization" some idea of what he went through while duty required him to stay and hold the University together. They are not given as statements of fact. Illustrative headings were: "Who Tells the Truth?" "Lying as Usual," "Shirking Official Duty," and "Pitiable Scene."

January 21, 1876: "The *Courier* has been the only paper that has had the courage to give the people all the facts about the University trouble, and we shall continue to do so as fast as they come out."

October 27, 1876: "As to Profs. Adams, D'Ooge and other bright luminaries, who are reposing so securely under the wing of their *guardian Angell*, on their \$2,500 per year, with but little to do, it is, perhaps, but natural that they should oppose getting down to the bottom of the dishonesty that has so long existed in one great department of the University; for it might result in some changes that would not be pleasant for those who now stand high . . . then these men . . . will call upon the rocks and mountains to hide them."

January 12, 1877 (advice to Dr. Douglas): "*Don't try to play the Methodist dodge any longer. That is played out—though it may answer to play on a President of a University or a few college professors.*"

June 8, 1877: "*Agents wanted—To sell the complete official report of the Legislative Investigating Committee on the Rose-Douglas affair . . . good commission . . . price only \$2. Apply at the Courier office . . . The proceeds, after paying expenses, are for the benefit of Dr. Rose's family.*"<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The fight thus even became a business venture.



September 21, 1877: "The decision of Judge Huntington [of the Washtenaw County Circuit Court] in the Rose-Douglas suit was received Tuesday night. We were not entirely unprepared for the disgraceful whitewashing production . . ."

January 18, 1878. "There are those who do not hesitate to say that it is in exceedingly bad taste for Angell to draw pay from the University while away from his duties here, earning money by lecturing over the country, and some of these people are so bold as to think the Regents should not allow it."

March 8, 1878 (in re. trip to Upper Peninsula): "President Angell is paid by the people of this State nearly five thousand dollars per annum; and . . . he has no more right to be away from the University during term time, without the consent of the Board of Regents, than any other employe . . . We believe, it is a fixed principle of common sense, if not law, that the employed shall not draw pay during such absence, unless officially granted . . . The people . . . may become dissatisfied, and conclude that honors or duties that can be so easily shifted from one to another, are not worth the money they cost."

June 21, 1878: "When we witness the highly interesting spectacle of the University ring engaged in a quarrel, in which the oily tongued Jimmy is accused of false swearing, we are not so much surprised."

July 5, 1878 (under head of University Reforms): "Regents Rynd, Climie, Duffield and Maltz have insisted on and accomplished all these reforms." The reforms alluded to were problematical, at most.

These four, the self-styled "People's Regents," on occasions when less than the entire Board membership was present, were at times only prevented from taking action by the precipitate withdrawal of opponents, resulting in loss of a quorum. At the meeting of March 26 and 27, 1878, with only the four "People's Regents" present, though three other Regents had been present and had withdrawn but to remain in the near vicinity of the meeting place, there were recorded no less than eighteen separate adjournments after the President wearily announced "no quorum." A number of these intervals of adjournment were for ten minutes only.

Lest it be inferred that the invectives were all on one side, it should be recorded that more than a whole year later, one of the unrepentant absentees, Regent C. B. Grant, wrote: "I almost commenced a letter to Rynd but the feeling of intense disgust at even writing to such an infernal scamp took complete possession of me & I couldn't do it . . . Tell Walker & Cutcheon that they must make the best fight they can and if any more

of their hellish work is undertaken, *bolt, bolt, bolt, by all means.*" After being in and out a number of times, on February 6, 1879, Dr. Rose was reappointed, this time to an assistant professorship. The vote by which action was taken was four to two, with last ditch opposition on the part of Regents Cutcheon and S. S. Walker. Grant and E. C. Walker were absent. In its issue of February 7, the *Courier* reported: "Although the action of the Regents, appointing Dr. Rose to a position in the University, was delayed until 11 o'clock in the evening, very soon thereafter there was a gathering together of the people of the city, and the booming of cannon and the lively strains of music from the Ann Arbor band, in regular Fourth of July style, indicated that it was a universal jubilee. The crowd, led by the band, proceeded to the residence of Dr. Rose, and gave him a serenade to which the Doctor responded in a heartfelt manner; thereupon they formed a line of march to the residence of R. A. Beal, the crowd increasing in numbers every block they went. Music, cheering, and joyful acclamations called forth R. A. Beal, A. J. Sawyer, Regents Rynd, Duffield, Climie and Maltz, also Senators Hodge and Moore, and Representatives Sharts and Robison, of the legislative committee, Rev. R. B. Pope [Methodist pastor] and others, who made short and stirring addresses to the large number assembled." But in March, 1881, Dr. Rose resigned and his resignation was accepted.

Even earlier former Regent Jonas H. McGowan had written from his congressional desk in Washington, February 22, 1878, to Angell: "From this time forward do not close your eyes or ears to offers to go elsewhere. I do not believe that you or any other man can now save the University from a gradual down hill course. If any man could do it, you could. But those fellows are going to worry the very life out of you. Half of the Regents are already against you, and I anticipate that any change will only add to their numbers. It's a glorious day for fools and demagogues. The confusion & distress in the country assures them of a hearing and a following. It is most likely that the next Legislature will impose conditions upon the appropriations (if indeed it deigns to make any) that will result in humiliating and disgracing the management if accepted or financially ruin the institution if rejected.

"I am almost convinced that no such institution can be long maintained if dependent upon biennial appropriations from the legislature. It would stand a better chance if it were a sickly one horse concern. In that case one-horse politicians & blatherskites could not make it an available hobby on which to ride into notoriety.

"Nothing outside my own personal affairs goes to my heart as this



matter. I believe that so far as a man can love an *institution*, I love the University. It is possible that I have taken counsel of my fears more than I should. If a half dozen or so of men I know were not so provokingly broad-shouldered and healthy I might have a little hope. As it is I have none. Few die & none resign."

President Andrew D. White on April 8, 1879, before leaving as minister to Germany, wrote from Ithaca in a letter in his always friendly vein: "It has been represented to me that the recent history of the University of Michigan has led you to think of resigning. I should regret this greatly, but if such be the case, would you take into consideration the Acting Presidency of this Institution, say for two years? The salary would be the same as at the University of Michigan; my house, which is entirely furnished, with Library etc., etc., and large and comfortable, would be entirely at your disposal. The affairs of the Institution are now running easily and comfortably, we are keeping within our means, and with prospect of a very large additional endowment at no distant day. I know of no one whom I should so much like to see take up the work here and carry it on as yourself. It would certainly be far less engrossing than that which you now have, the Board of Trustees is all that you could desire, they would second your efforts earnestly, there has never been a ripple of difficulty between them and me for all these 14 years."

But these friends far underestimated the courage and staying power of James B. Angell. He appealed to history as in the future he should help to make it.

By the end of 1881 Regents Maltz, Climie, and Rynd had gone and had been succeeded by men whose reasoning ran in a different groove.

The best summary of the intricate and to this day not completely resolved tragedy known as the Douglas-Rose Controversy is the article in Volume I of *The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey* (1941, pp. 212-13) by the trained historian, Lewis G. Vander Velde:

"By the decision in the chancery suit of 1877, Douglas had been charged with \$1,047.47 of the deficit. The court at the same time, however, allowed him credit for interest on money advanced for the laboratory, for traveling expenses, and so forth. The amount of this credit was sufficient to overbalance the deficit, and it was ruled that the University in fact owed Douglas \$17.46.

"The financial outcome of the controversy had thus been far from satisfactory to the University, yet, impressed with the heavy expenditures already incurred, the Regents, in March, 1879, resolved that the Board

did not wish to incur the expense of an appeal to the Supreme Court. When Douglas, not satisfied with the lower-court ruling, carried the case on appeal to the state Supreme Court, the Regents, in the interests of economy, declined to employ counsel in the appeal. The wisdom of this attempt at economy was questioned by many when the Supreme Court, in January, 1881, rendered a decree in favor of Dr. Douglas and against the University, for \$2,045.80 and costs taxed at \$1,605.94; total, \$3,651.74. With the payment of this claim, the controversy which for nearly six years had monopolized an appallingly large proportion of the Regents' [and the President's] time was, as far as the Board was concerned, officially ended.

"By no means ended, however, was the deleterious effect of the controversy upon the University and the community. Financially, the University had suffered badly. To be sure, one of the immediate effects of the controversy had been the acquisition of a half interest in the valuable Beal-Steere collection.<sup>9</sup> However, it had been anticipated that this collection would come to the University as a gift; the half-interest was now obtained only through agreement to refrain from collecting the \$4,624.40 which the Circuit Court had decreed Rose and Beal<sup>10</sup> must pay the University. For fees to counsel, to accountants, and to handwriting experts, the University had been obliged to spend more than \$8,000, and the special investigation by the legislature had cost the state an additional \$4,000. The decree of the Supreme Court required the payment of \$3,500 to meet the claims of Douglas. How heavy the financial blow entailed by all of this expenditure was, may be appreciated from the fact that during the seventies the total expenditure of the University for library purposes did not exceed \$3,000 annually.

"However, severe as was the financial cost of the controversy, of far greater significance was the loss in prestige resulting from the bitter factional quarrels within the Board of Regents, the sharp hostility toward the University engendered among members of the state legislature,<sup>11</sup> the violent abuse indulged in by many of the newspapers of the state, the countless charges of bad faith and double-dealing, the sectarian animosities aroused between Methodists and non-Methodists, and

<sup>9</sup> Consisting of approximately 20,000 specimens collected for the Museum by Professor Joseph Beal Steere in South America, China, and the East Indies; the expenses of the expedition were largely financed by Mr. Rice Beal.

<sup>10</sup> As surety for Rose.

<sup>11</sup> The University's Department of Mining Engineering did not long survive the establishment of the School of Mines at Houghton. This was partly at least a legislative reprisal.



the vindictiveness stirred up among groups in the faculty. From the vantage point of sixty-five years one can readily see that much trouble would have been avoided had the matter immediately been taken into the courts; one may conjecture that more decisive administrative handling at the outset would have prevented the development of so serious a crisis. True, in certain important respects the controversy did not, apparently, damage the University's development: for example, enrollment mounted during the half-dozen years while the fight was raging. Yet no one who examines the voluminous records of the struggle, no one who has viewed the enormous publicity which the conflict received, no one who faces the fact that traces of the feud are still visible in Ann Arbor in 1940 can doubt that the University would have been a far stronger institution during the closing years of the nineteenth century had there been no Douglas-Rose controversy."

We may close this chapter of troubles on a note of refreshment—a letter from a mother whose faith was unbounded in the ability of her son to bring his ship into harbor through any storm. On March 13, 1879, the spirited Amey Aldrich Angell wrote from the Collier home, then in Washington: "We were so much obliged for your letters as they gave us some of the important items of your College matters—the last was very comforting—let us hope your next meeting may be the means of putting those scamps down where they belong. How is it that you can't expect Walker will be able to attend your next Meeting—is he dangerously ill? his absence has occurred in each of your most important Meetings seems to me & he is the very one whom you cannot afford to lose. Well the State seems to be pretty well stirred up about it—tis a big State to rally—I hope twill all come out right & you will be feeling more at ease than you have been since the days of Rose began."

# *Minister to China:*

## *The Preliminaries*

### CHAPTER XVIII

*O*n the morning of February 20, 1880, President Angell opened a letter (even the President did not have a stenographer or secretary in those days) from Michigan's Senator H. P. Baldwin asking him if at the earliest convenient date, he would like to make a visit to his mother and sister in Washington. The Senator stated that this suggestion originated with the Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, who thought that during Angell's presence in Washington he might take time off from family talk for a conversation with the Secretary on a matter deemed of importance. But so far as public knowledge went, however, the journey to the capital was strictly one by a dutiful son and brother concerned with the well being of his mother and sister. Even in those precolumnist days, apparently statesmanship sought to avoid gossip whether by the press or private citizens. As for Angell, he was tired for reasons that must be apparent, and he welcomed the thought of a few days off the campus.

Naturally, he turned over in his mind possible reasons why the Secretary of State should wish to see him. The most likely, he thought, were matters in connection with fisheries questions or with the proposed canal across Panama. It was only after he reached Washington that he learned the soil in which the idea was rooted. His arrival at the capital was on Saturday night, February 28. Of course, he went to church the following day, and on his returning walk fell in with Senator Baldwin himself and was told of the State Department's desire that he undertake a diplomatic mission to China. On Monday, the first of March, he went with the Senator to Mr. Evarts' house. There he learned for the first time that his name had been suggested by his old friend, Senator George F. Edmunds, who knew of his wide and searching knowledge of interna-



tional law and remembered from Vermont days his know-how in dealings with his fellowmen.

The United States, its West Coast especially, was becoming more and more troubled by growing Chinese immigration, originally stimulated by American railroad building and other interests in need of labor, especially labor that would work contentedly at a wage below what Americans could live on. Under the treaty negotiated in 1858 and as modified ten years later by the American Anson Burlingame, then acting, however, as a representative of the Chinese Empire, this immigration was unrestricted. It had come to a point where Bret Harte could write in a poem humorously expressive of the sober views of many Americans on the Pacific Coast, "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor."

As early as 1877 a joint committee of Congress, headed by Senator Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, filed a report based on over 1200 pages of testimony by 130 witnesses. This investigation had been fairly and reasonably conducted, and its conclusion was that Chinese could not be permitted to continue to come here in such numbers as hitherto without danger to American economy and American republican institutions. Edwin Lowe Neville of the University of Michigan Class of 1907, an able career diplomat, stated that "in September, 1879, an election was held in California to determine the attitude of the people of the state on the subject. The election or poll was taken by direction of the legislature of California and resulted in a vote of 883 for Chinese immigration and 154,638 against it. There were said to be some 160,000 Chinese west of the Nevadas (presumably the Sierra Nevadas) at that time."<sup>1</sup>

Article V of the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 was as follows: "The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects, respectively, from one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."

The construction of the continental Pacific railroad through the Rocky Mountains and westward therefrom could hardly have been completed without the thousands of Chinese laborers employed, but when this project ceased to require such great numbers of workers, the Chinese

<sup>1</sup> An unpublished Neville memorandum. For the depths of emotionalism and consequent acts of violence during the hard times of the late '70's on the Pacific Coast see James F. Rhodes's *History of the United States, 1850-1896* (New York: Macmillan, 1919), VIII, pp. 180-96, and references given by him.

scattered into other, more competitive fields. Meanwhile, more kept coming from their own overcrowded country.

In his first interview with the Secretary, Angell was charmed by the latter's frankness and good humor and was interested in the work it was desired he should undertake. The original proposal of a commission of two men did not appeal to him at all. "At the proper time"—this was the time he almost always chose for making suggestions—he commented that Roman consular history frequently warned against commissions of two. Three members would at least avoid a deadlock. Senator Edmunds later voiced the same view, and a three-man commission was decided on. Mr. Evarts took him to the White House, where he found President Hayes interested in checking the flood of immigrants. Angell agreed to go home and think it over. Before the end of the week he was on the campus again.

Missionary-minded, he had always been interested in China and the Chinese, and the problems involved in their emigration. As early as August 17, 1860, in the editorial columns of the *Providence Journal* he discussed the proposal of the British Lord John Russell to encourage coolie migration, in great part as a means of discouraging the slave trade by furnishing Chinese labor to South America, Cuba, and other markets for slaves. He was not sanguine about results to be expected, particularly in view of the iniquities that had attended the "coolie trade" as already experienced. He got in a political lick by the closing comment, "The emigration of this administration from Washington will do more than that of coolies from China to accomplish the desired result."

But his interest in missions, in which China was always prominent, had long antedated 1860 and never ceased during his lifetime. As he thought it over at home, he felt deeply the appeal of the opportunities he would have as Minister to China to contribute directly to missionary efforts. His wife, too, was throughout her life forcefully active in missionary societies. She was no less interested than he in this phase of the question as they sat in the President's house and considered exchanging these pleasant scenes for something unknown. How would a Chinese or a diplomatic community compare in comfort and friendships with the campus and Ann Arbor? Could the problems of a foreign minister be any more annoying at the worst than some of those that had so recently confronted them right at home? But there was distinction involved, not only for him, and her, but for the University. There was a chance to further the missionary cause, far greater than could be hoped for in America. And above all, there was duty. The country had summoned



him for service, had asked him to do a job that greatly needed doing. He might fail, of course, in which case there would be no great distinction. In that event he would return to sympathy at the best, and at the worst to the sneers and belittlings of the people that of late had been badgering him so viciously. It is not to be supposed that Sarah Caswell Angell quoted Lady Macbeth, "But screw your courage to the sticking point and we'll not fail." But from the sometimes mutually hortatory character of the letters exchanged between them in absences, there can be no question that *duty* had no small part in the decision finally reached.

There can be little question that James B. Angell always regarded the China episode as the high spot of his career. In his *Reminiscences* he gives it more space than any other period, except for an equal number of pages that he uses to tell of his ancestry and of the entire twenty years from birth to graduation from Brown. As his old Providence friend and chief, Senator Anthony, wrote him: "The opportunity is one that comes but once in a man's life, and not to many men once. It is an opportunity of personal honor and distinction, and of doing good. It will, doubtless, be a good thing also for the University of which you are the head." In after years Angell was justified in believing that he had reaped a full harvest from the opportunity, for his own distinction, for the University, and for his countrymen at home and in the Orient, and, indeed, for China itself.

The Regents were startled, but felt that the University could not afford to miss the honor involved in being second only to Cornell in point of time, in having its President selected for an important foreign post. Dr. Frieze, a proved success, stood ready to substitute again. Friends poured in their congratulations and their advice for acceptance. The ever-faithful Rowland Hazard was among these. One frequent caution was to go only for such time as it might take to settle the question of emigration, and another was to go only as a minister or as the *head* of a commission.

As illustrative of Angell's basic knowledge of the problems he might have to consider and of the way in which he discussed the problem of the appointment itself with the Secretary, it seems justifiable to quote in full his long letter of March 11 to Mr. Evarts.

"After parting with you, I seized the earliest opportunity to communicate with a majority of our Board of Regents, and have ascertained beyond a reasonable doubt that they would consider in a generous spirit a request from me to be absent for twelve or sixteen months on the important duty to which you and the President invite me.

"I have also had some days in which to investigate & consider the question of Chinese Emigration to this country, and the result has been to deepen my impression both of the gravity and the difficulty of the problem you propose to take in hand. As you chose so kindly and informal a way of opening the matter to me, I trust you will permit me to explain in a frank and somewhat informal way the present state of my feelings & opinions.

"Of course it would not be well for me to accept the position, of which you spoke to me, unless the plan of the govt. should commend itself to my judgment as wise & to my conscience as right. On no other condition could I undertake the work, which is difficult at best, with such heartiness as to insure efficiency. As I do not know with any exactness what the details of your plan are if you have wrought them out, I must speak of such methods of preventing or checking the evils of the emigration as have occurred to me in these few days.

"I. There is the heroic cure by the direct method of asking the Chinese to consent to the abrogation of the fifth Article of the Burlingame Treaty, or to such modification of it as will positively forbid the emigration of laborers. To this there seem to me two grave objections. (a) The Chinese, who are so reluctant to make the treaty at all, who are annoyed to some degree by the presence of Americans, and who are so proud, might consent to a modification only on terms, which could seriously interfere with our missionaries, merchants & travellers. And (b) the absolute & formal prohibition of the laborers would be diametrically opposed to all our national traditions & would call down the censure of a very large portion, if not a majority of our most intelligent & high-minded citizens. I must confess that personally I am not ready to favor it, until it is *demonstrated* much more clearly to me than it now is that the necessity for such a step is overwhelming. After careful reflection, I am constrained to say that if the Commission are to be charged with that task, I should prefer that some one else should be appointed in my stead.

"II. There are some indirect methods of restraining emigration. Two in particular have occurred to me. *First*, we might ask that no men without families be permitted to come. It would seem that such a limitation would prevent many evils. Indeed, since the wives are rarely willing to go with their husbands a hundred miles from home according to the testimony of S. Wells Williams, if it could be enforced, it would almost cut off emigration. But possibly the concubine or supplemental wife would be passed off on us as the real wife & so immorality be fos-



tered. *Secondly*, a better plan, indeed the best which has suggested itself to me, would be to ask the Chinese govt to agree that no emigrants should come on the present contract system. It appears from the testimony given to the Com<sup>e</sup>. of which Senator Morton was Chairman, that the men who have money enough to come on any other plan deem themselves too wealthy to need to come at all and in fact do not come save in very small numbers. This regulation then if enforced, would we may hope well nigh stop the emigration. And it seems to me that if the present contract system were fairly understood by our people, they would at once see that it is so truly a system of temporary quasi-servitude & is so repugnant to the whole spirit of our institutions, that a measure like this proposed would meet with the approbation of all even of the very class, who will not hear of formal prohibition of the Chinese. It is notorious that even if the emigrants fully realize the nature of their contract when they make it, they are, however kindly treated by the six Co<sup>s</sup>. perfectly in their power after arrival, submitting not only to fines, but probably at times to corporal punishment. It is notorious that contractors pay the Company for them as they would for horses, having no pecuniary dealings at all with the individual Chinamen. The contract is radically different in aspect from our ordinary business contracts. I do not see how the Chinese govt could object to it or make it the basis of any claim to limit the present privileges of Am<sup>'ns</sup> in China. Of course Congress would have to furnish some proper legislation.

“III. But really one of the chief difficulties is found in the fact that almost without exception the emigrants sail not directly from a Chinese port, but from the British port of Hong Kong. Therefore the Chinese govt. really has nothing to say about the conditions of their emigration. We cannot expect the prohibition of emigration from Canton & Macao to Hong Kong. I am really puzzled to see what we have to do with the Chinese govt. about the matter farther than to make sure that any restrictions we may resort to like those above named should not be deemed offensive to them or made the excuse for curtailing the privileges of Am<sup>ns</sup>. Having made sure of that, could we not then complete all needed legislation at home? Or would some understanding with Great Britain be necessary to ensure the facilities for proper consular supervision of the emigration?

“Doubtless other & better plans have suggested themselves to you. I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous in me to have mentioned them. I have named these to illustrate what I mean when I say that if

some plan which looks to the correction of abuses that are plainly pernicious & offensive to the moral sense of the country, some plan which would work a limitation of emigration can be executed through a treaty with China & supplemented with other efficient means so as to give reasonable promise of success is to be entrusted to the Commission, then, although I do not seek or specially desire the place of which you have spoken to me, I should be willing from a sense of public duty, from an appreciation of the urgent need of some remedy for the difficulties now upon us, to render my best service to the govt. If after receiving this you should still think you desire my acceptance, I suppose it would not be unreasonable for me before giving a final answer to inquire whether the gentlemen to be associated with me (if the Commission is to consist of three) are of such views and spirit that I shall be pretty certainly in harmony with them; and also whether the salary I shall receive will be adequate to my proper expenses, especially if I take my wife & two children with me. While I care for nothing more than my expenses, college men, you know, are rarely so fortunate as the Minister to Germany in having a fortune to draw from.

"Should my services be desired, it would be a convenience to the Board, if I could know the fact before the 23 inst, as the Board then meet, & the proper arrangements could be made to provide for my work here.

"Should I not take up this work, I am now expecting to visit Wash<sup>n</sup>. with my wife in the last days of this month.

"But whatever may be the results of this correspondence, I wish to express my sincere thanks to you for the honor you have done me in thinking of me at all in connection with so important a work and for the very cordial reception you gave me in Wash<sup>n</sup>." <sup>2</sup>

The appointment as Minister was promptly made, with full acceptance of the temporary nature of the tenure. There was approval of the general character of the views Angell had outlined in his letter. The Minister's salary was stated to be \$12,000, with a small allowance in addition for the rent of legation quarters and incidentals. Expenses of transportation were to be met out of the salary, which, however, began with the date of appointment. Associated with the Minister were two commissioners. One was John F. Swift of California, who was personally to pose some minor but disposable problems in the negotiations growing out of his somewhat rigid California views of the immigration issue, and

<sup>2</sup> This is one of the few letters of which he kept a copy.



others through having a high-tempered, socially ambitious wife. The other was William H. Trescot of South Carolina. Trescot was a man of considerable State Department experience both before and after the Civil War, during which he had served the Confederacy in similar capacity. He was thoroughly "reconstructed," however, and he and Angell always got on well together as he understood thoroughly the requirements of formal international diplomacy.

At the President's house on the campus there immediately began consideration of the very practical problems involved. These must sometimes have been discussed in a state of great depression, if not of almost panic. While the determination of what must be taken (i. e., "bed and table linen, curtains, a sewing machine, silver, rugs if rugs are desired, and French china," plus "clothing and nearly all table supplies for the entire term except mutton and poultry, but including butter") must have been of most concern to the new diplomat's wife, the expense of "planting himself in Peking," estimated at \$5,000, vitally concerned the diplomat himself. The supplies taken to China proved to be sufficiently ample so that when preparing to come home in the fall of 1881, the disposition of items still on hand led the Minister to write his son in Detroit that he was now in the grocery business, and rather liked it.

On April 29, 1880, Angell made the initial entry in the diary he was to keep until November 4, 1881, when in the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean on his return voyage he made the final entry: "Flying fishes abound." In opening this diary he wrote: "As the work I am about to engage in at the request of the govmt. is likely to be of great consequence to my family and to myself, if not to our nation, I think it proper to make some record of it. I propose therefore to keep a diary of my life, especially of my official life, while I hold the office of minister to China. It seems to me well to preface it with so much as I can accurately recall of the circumstances connected with my acceptance of the post." It was on this diary that Angell largely relied in the China chapter of his *Reminiscences*, some portions being word for word reproductions from the diary. The old newspaper habit of writing, the first time, just what he wanted to say continued to control his pen almost always when he took it in hand. (But the copy of his important letter to the Secretary of State appearing above shows a large number of corrections and interlineations.) It may be observed, too, that the old habit of aimless penmanship likewise lived on; many words and phrases of the diary are still undeciphered even by several careful and patient readers. Indeed, it may be doubted whether the President himself could always read his own writ-

ing since in the *Reminiscences* of 1912 and in an *Atlantic Monthly* article of 1900, both obviously based on the diary, there are a number of factual and other variations from it.

He early consulted with men who from first-hand experience or special study knew about China. These included among others, Dr. Peter Parker, a long-time medical missionary; and Mr. and Mrs. S. Wells Williams (who were prime movers in urging the long list of supplies). Williams was a professor of Chinese at Yale. He also saw George Bancroft, the historian. He read everything on Chinese problems that he could get hold of, including the pertinent *Foreign Relations of the United States* back to 1861-1862. On May 26, with his proposed colleague, Mr. Trescot, he had a three-hour interview in Washington with Secretary Evarts. In this interview the difficulties of the main issue they would have to deal with were made plain. Limitation of emigration to America's hospitable shores represented an about-face from our national policy of eighty years. Many citizens were known to oppose any change that would shut the door of hope in the faces of any of the down-trodden of any other country. On the other hand, in addition to serious economic disturbance to the Pacific Coast and in time perhaps to far wider reaches of the country, there was the social and political problem involved in the creation of an unassimilable foreign mass made up almost entirely of men except for "women of lewd character," since Chinese wives had neither wish nor willingness to wander. Almost without exception these men were not here to stay, not to vote even if they could, not to become citizens, but to accumulate the little money they would need to be able to go back to China and live in comparative ease and comfort. It would be the same with Chinese immigrants in the future. However long they stayed here, East would still be East. They would always be Chinese, would never become Americans. "Chinatown" would always differ from the rest of the community. The problem was how to arrange with the Chinese government to stop or rigorously control this migrant wave—and how to do it without giving offense to a proud and sensitive race that from its own point of view looked down on western civilization as a come-lately development not fit to be mentioned in comparison with their own culture that had been many centuries old before the rude settlements at Jamestown, Plymouth, and St. Augustine were made. One must not give China an excuse for closing *her* shores to *us*. The commissioners were told in effect, "Something has got to be done—the State Department doesn't know just what. But it is your job to do it." And, obviously, when done it would have to satisfy both shores of the Pacific



or it could not be regarded as done. If, they were told, "the Chinese refused to negotiate, then America would have to legislate," and such undiplomatic action this country wished to avoid.

One thing that amused Angell was the smiling communication from Evarts, at a dinner the Secretary gave, that since naming White and Angell he had had applications from three more college presidents.

So Angell went back home for the final days. He could not even remain there for Commencement, or incidentally, for the fraternity convention at which he had promised to speak. Alumni and other citizens of Detroit gave him an elaborate dinner, with speeches that embarrassed him by their encomiums. In his own remarks he "was careful to say nothing of the matters upon which as Minister [he] would have to act." The Congregational church and the faculty and students each tendered the Angells what, in the *Reminiscences* of his boyhood, he says the Rhode Islanders used to call an "onfare"—a gathering of Godspeeding friends to send them faring on their way. The Cooley family also gave a farewell reception of great family significance as three days later on June 6, Alexis Caswell Angell and Fanny Cary Cooley by their marriage united the two families more closely than ever.

The Chinese have a proverb, "To travel a thousand miles, you must take a first step," and on the day following the wedding, the long journey began. Judge and Mrs. Cooley went as far as Battle Creek, and Alexis and Fanny as far as Chicago. That night the Minister spent a few minutes at the Republican Convention that ultimately nominated General Garfield.

The Minister's party included Mrs. Angell, their daughter, Lois or "Daisy," aged seventeen, later to be Mrs. Andrew C. McLaughlin, and their son, James Rowland, later to be President of Yale, then a lad of eleven. There was also Miss Kate Martin, who as long as the President lived would be a fixture in the Angell menage.

It seems curious that on this, his first trip to the far West, he was impressed by the rolling prairies of Iowa which he found "wonderfully attractive," while the diary has not a word about the Rocky Mountains. In San Francisco Angell met his colleague Mr. Swift for the first time. There was much entertainment and many interviews during the six days between their arrival on the thirteenth and their sailing on the nineteenth. Angell walked through Chinatown and met a number of Chinese, including the consul, and also some of their American representatives. He conferred with men experienced in the Chinese mission field, and with Governor Low, himself once Minister to China. He got

diverse opinions. He found one man who thought that "if the Chinese government would permit emigrants to dispense with the queue, they would assimilate." He visited the University of California. He formed a poor opinion of San Francisco weather—it was cold—and he came to a mistaken judgment as to the city's future prosperity. But he liked it all enough so that he "hoped sometime to come again."

Then at last the official party boarded the "Oceanic" and were off for Cathay.



# *Minister to China:*

## *The Treaty*

### CHAPTER XIX

*The "Oceanic" cabin* passengers included about twenty-five besides the commissioners' party, and Angell found it a pleasant company—returning missionaries, a count from the German legation in Washington, and a number of merchants returning to their businesses in China. Among the latter, along with Europeans and Americans, was Ah Zeep, a very intelligent Chinese. The Minister pleasantly extracted all the information he could from everybody. The supervisor of emigration at Hong Kong, who was on board, mentioned a new quirk to the emigration problem. Hong Kong Chinese could go to Singapore, be naturalized as British subjects, and as such be eligible to come to America. The voyage to Yokohama was not unduly rough—on only a few occasions, the Minister observed in his diary, did any of the passengers "become pensive." Eighteen days were required not counting June 30 which was "dropped" on crossing the international date line. After leaving the American coast they did not see a single ship for more than two weeks.

On arrival at Yokohama, Navy protocol and the designation in the official papers of the Minister's companions as "commissioners plenipotentiary" instead of as "envoys or ministers extraordinary" gave rise to the first of the numerous little squalls that disturbed the diplomatic waters. The Navy regulations directed that "commissioners" be recognized as of the rank of "chargé," and Mr. and Mrs. Swift—particularly the latter—resented what seemed to them a neglect of the honors due them in salutes, calls, and other formalities. All the Minister's tact was required in smoothing the situation, and the same general sort of infelicity was to be of frequent recurrence. Angell's patience was sorely tried.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When the negotiations had been completed and Mr. Trescot and the Swifts had

Sailing dates over which they had no control held them for two weeks in Japan, where they seemingly were entertained by or met everyone of any importance except the Mikado—and they saw him. In spite of his being the representative of the oldest sovereign line in the world, Angell did not feel that he could be called impressive. The things Angell heard of former President Grant's great influence, especially for peace, and the repute he had gained for practical wisdom in government during his tour of the country "raised Grant in his esteem."<sup>2</sup> After the departure from Japan, as the U.S.S. "Ashuelot" steamed among the wooded islands of the Inland Sea, the scenery reminded Angell of Lake Champlain and Lake George "extended two days' sail." The party sat on deck in the moonlight until midnight. They had one very narrow escape from being forced aground by a racing tide. At Shanghai there were more calls, social and diplomatic, and considerable correspondence to be attended to. The social side of diplomacy continued to require attention at Chefoo. He left his family there and went on alone to Peking to make preliminary arrangements as Minister for the acceptance of the Treaty Commission by the imperial government. At Tientsin he was met by Mr. Holcombe, secretary of the American legation, whose knowledge of the country and its people and of diplomacy and whose ability as interpreter were to contribute heavily to the success of the negotiations. There was much more of "social" diplomacy. The high spot was the call under suitable auspices<sup>3</sup> on the personally impressive Viceroy, Li Hung Chang, China's greatest statesman of the nineteenth century. Angell found this inter-

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departed for home, Angell wrote to his son, Alexis, on December 5: "Since the Commission has left, we have had comparative peace. We had some pretty uncomfortable times, owing mainly to that uncomfortable woman. . . . I have thought it wise to write confidential letters to Anthony, Edmunds & Baldwin that they may be able to defend me in case of need. I have recited the nature & cause of the imbroglios."

<sup>2</sup> "Diary."

<sup>3</sup> "At 4 p.m., August 5, with Mr. Holcombe and six naval officers we went to call on Li Hung Chang. With two horsemen in front of our procession of chairs and two behind, we made quite an imposing appearance, we passed through three miles of dirty narrow streets, crossed the Grand Canal on a bridge of boats and soon reached the Viceroy's residence, which is a large, but simple structure. He first received us in a large room, furnished in great degree with furniture purchased from a former French minister. We were seated around a large table and cigars were offered. An attendant once in every few minutes loaded a long water pipe for Li and he took a few whiffs, blowing the smoke through his nostrils & mouth. He soon began to ask why Grant was not nominated. I told him (1) however it might be in China, in America men who had been in high office, had made enemies, (2) other men's friends wanted them elected, (3) there was a strong feeling against the third term. This



view very agreeable throughout. Next day Li returned the call, the meeting being on the "Ashuelot." To Angell's great pleasure Li had brought as a member of his considerable retinue, the famous English general, "Chinese" Gordon. The contrast between the bluff, hearty, six-foot-three Chinese and the small, soft-voiced, "almost feminine" Gordon was marked. The deeply religious soldier had come to the meeting to beg Angell to use every possible means to prevent a war, then threatening, between China and Russia.<sup>4</sup> The Viceroy tendered the Minister the use of his steam launch for himself, Secretary Holcombe, and three naval officers, as far up the Pei-ho River as its draft permitted. Thereafter, the trip had to be by houseboats drawn by men on shore. The last stages of the journey were through the Grand Canal. On August 9 they reached the American legation and were courteously met by Angell's enigmatic predecessor, George F. Seward. The diary of August 10 records: "The residence and the grounds are more spacious and attractive than I had supposed. I do not see why one may not be comfortable here."

Social intercourse with members of the diplomatic corps began at once. The first new contact was made with the man who was to prove Angell's closest friend in Peking, the British Minister, Sir Thomas Francis Wade. He in time became almost a member of the Angell family. Most of the other ministers were away in the hills for the hot season, though he soon met the German Minister, Herr von Brandt, whom he came to regard as the ablest in the foreign corps. Mr. Seward for the rest of their stay in China—though not after he had returned to Washington—was ostensibly co-operative and helpful. Angell "decided to buy Seward's furniture," and heard from Secretary Evarts the cheering news that he might expect the government to meet this expense.

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last idea he could not comprehend. He repeatedly said that a man who had served twice was better fitted for the place. He asked my age & contrary to the Chinese custom expressed surprise that I was so old. On being told, in answer to inquiry, my profession, he said some complimentary things about my attainments. After perhaps 20 minutes in the reception room, he invited us to a Library, where refreshments of cakes & confections & nuts & champagne & tea were served. He said here that he was sure we should be good friends. He inquired after the Commissioners, and my contemplated movements, etc. We staid about an hour and were all much pleased with the visit. Li is a most imposing man in appearance, about 6 ft 3 inches tall, with a keen eye and a certain bluff, hearty way which is very interesting. He expressed constantly great friendship for the U.S."—"Diary."

<sup>4</sup>In the Angell papers there is a twelve-page, pen-written memorandum in which he records facts concerning Gordon's life, the purpose of his visit to China, and the impressions Angell formed with respect to this unusual personality.

One week after his arrival the old and the new ministers went by appointment for a first meeting with Prince Kung and "the Tsung-li-Yamen" or supreme council. Mr. Seward presented his letter of recall, and Angell his letter of appointment. There were interchanges of compliments. Both the Prince and the councilors were "more animated and jocose" than Angell had expected, and he recorded, "at the close after scanning me closely were flattering enough to say that I had an honest face." Six days later the call was returned, very pleasantly, partly on account of the interest the Orientals showed with respect to what was apparently the first piano they had ever seen. Soon afterward Mr. Seward left for a vacation in the hills, and Angell was in formal charge of the legation.

He had given some of the intervening days to calling on representatives of the American Board of Missions and to familiarizing himself with the capital. He found the inhabitants, though generally civil, were not yet so accustomed to the sight of foreigners as to refrain from giving them special inspection in passing. One feature of the city he covered in a letter home to Charles Kendall Adams, to whom he wrote on August 22: "There is everywhere a pervading Peking odor, out of which special stinks emerge here and there like mountains out of the plain. . . . The dust is fearful when the wind blows at all. So one is tempted to keep in the compound, where it is sweet and clean." After three weeks of introduction to his duties as Minister, on September 1 he started back to Chefoo for a reunion with his family. This journey took a week because of an accident to the boat's steering gear. By the twenty-first the Angell family and the Swifts and Trescots were safely housed in Peking, and the diarist wrote: "With gratitude to God for the mercy which has kept us unharmed on this long journey, we entered the house which is to be our home for months to come." En route, however, the not too clean waters of the Pei-ho were troubled by the Minister's falling in up to his neck, and on the previous day Daisy had had a similar mishap.<sup>5</sup>

And now at last came the tug of war. On September 30 and October 1,

<sup>5</sup> Falling into a Chinese river could have uniquely serious consequences. Esson Gale in his *Salt for the Dragon* (East Lansing: Mich. State College Press, 1953), page 66, says: "A well-known 'Down East' captain, a very stout man, came to a tragic end. After sailing the river for half a century, late one night he slipped off the long elevated plank-way, which led from the Hankow Bund onto the pontoon to which his ship was tied. The current was deep and swift and carried the refuse of a thousand miles of unsanitary China. The rotund captain easily managed to float and cling to the planking. But in the time taken to hoist his heavy form up onto the gang-plank, he swallowed some of the polluted waters. He was dead of cholera by the next morning."



the three commissioners held informal sessions to discuss the draft of proposals to be presented to the Chinese authorities. There was some disagreement owing to the fact that Mr. Swift's views differed from those of his colleagues, who had not lived in the anti-immigration atmosphere of California. Mr. Swift demanded, and was accorded, permission to spread on the record his protesting sentiments.

The Yamen had appointed two commissioners of suitable rank to meet the Americans. Obviously, with their high esteem for education, the Chinese had been deeply gratified by the appointment of the head of a university to treat with them. The imperial government had responded in kind. The two Chinese commissioners were men of high rank and large influence, and both were members of the privy council of state and of the foreign office. They were advanced in years, which then in China (if not elsewhere today) brought distinction. Pao Chün was a Manchu, distantly related to the imperial family. In addition to the offices mentioned, he was president of the Imperial College of Literature and superintendent of the Board of Rites. He had had long experience in foreign matters and was understood to be conciliatory and progressive in his policy. Li Hung Tsao was a Chinese. He had been the tutor of the late Emperor Tung Chih, and had the reputation of being one of the most profound scholars in the empire. He had been a member of the foreign office for about five years and was regarded as being anti-foreign or reactionary in his views. Angell jocosely wrote his son Alexis: "One of the [Chinese] commissioners is the oldest member of the Foreign Board, named Pao—pronounced *Pow*—the other is Li Hung Tsao—a great historical scholar. I am sorry to say his last name is pronounced very nearly like *sow*. So we have *Pow* and *Sow*, though in truth we address the latter as Li."

On the afternoon of October 1, the American commissioners met their Chinese counterparts for the first time. Three other members of the Yamen were also present. The American statement—not articles proposed for a treaty—was carefully read in translation by the five Chinese, one after another, who expressed no final disapproval. Pao thought there was nothing that might not be finally adjusted. Li's attitude was less promising, and the Minister conjectured that embarrassments if they arose would come from him. The meeting was in general wholly cordial.

As evidence of the lengths to which the language of diplomacy must go, especially when addressed to representatives of an ancient, proud, and sensitive Oriental nation, it will not be amiss to quote in full the



first statement which the American commissioners laid before those representing China:

#### MEMORANDUM

After the exchange of full powers which has just taken place, it becomes the duty of the commissioners of the United States to lay before the commissioners of China with entire frankness the purpose of their mission.

Fortunately the relations of the two countries have been of unbroken and increasing friendship from the date of the first treaty negotiated between them to the present moment. It is only natural that it should have been so. Without conflicting interest to disturb their relations, representing in their territorial extent and in their large populations, the power of the two great nations which occupy the shores of the Pacific Ocean, they are united by the consciousness that free intercourse between them properly conducted can only be beneficial to both.

We have now had the experience of many years as to the effect of that intercourse, and our object is, in full and friendly consultation with the representatives of the Chinese Government, to ascertain what modifications in its regulation may have become necessary, as the effect upon those interests has now come to be known to both governments by the practical operation of existing treaties.

Under the treaties which have from time to time been negotiated between the two countries, the merchants of the United States have resorted to the treaty ports of China in the pursuit of their calling, while those of China have come to the United States, where they have been made welcome to engage in trade in all parts of the country, and have been uniformly protected in their rights, and their merchants have exchanged the products of the two countries, as we believe, to the mutual advantage of both.

There has also been a constant and useful international communication, taking its rise in motives of philanthropy, or a respectful curiosity as to the habits, manners, and institutions of each other, which the students of all nations have been at all times permitted and encouraged to cultivate.

But we wish to ask the attention of the Chinese Government to a species of intercourse which has increased to a large extent within the last few years, and which has subjected the Government of the United States to very grave embarrassments.

A class of Chinese subjects immigrating to the United States without the purpose of changing their allegiance and intending only a temporary residence, claims all the privileges and exemptions provided by express treaty stipulations for "permanent residence." This same class, consisting entirely of laborers, coming in great numbers, with the avowed intention of early return, and concerted arrangements for a new supply, with the almost absolute exclusion of all family and domestic relations in their association, and jealously preserving their peculiar nationality in dress, language, creed, and habits, claims that it is entitled to all the privileges of the subjects and citizens of the most favored nation; although the immigration from no other nation at all resembles this in its purpose, its methods, or its consequences. All other immigrants come to the United States with the express purpose of changing



their allegiance, with their wives and children, to be in the course of a generation completely incorporated into the country of their adoption.

Of late years this immigration has concentrated itself in cities and come into direct competition with native laborers, making their struggle for livelihood a hard one and disabling them, by their exclusion from accustomed work, to discharge those social and political duties which the Government of the United States expects from every one of its citizens. This competition engenders popular discontent and raises questions which, if left unsettled, may disturb the friendly relations of the two countries.

The commissioners of China will, we are sure, understand how grave a problem it would be, for the solution of their own government, if one hundred thousand foreign laborers were in a body introduced into the capital, or into any great city of the empire, to bring their new and strange manners and habits and to take the places of the same number of native Chinese, whose ability to discharge their duties as subjects by contributing their taxes and fulfilling their other liabilities, was in great measure dependent upon their capacity to maintain themselves and their families by their daily work.

In addition to this, it must be remembered that from the enormous population of China, such a number of immigrants could be gathered under the stimulant of gain to those who sent them as would exceed the native population of more than one of the United States, unless the Governments of China and the United States recognize their common rights to deal with this subject by such legislation as the best interests of both countries require.

The commissioners of the United States would also call to the attention of the Chinese Government, that for this extension of these privileges to all Chinese subjects throughout the whole territorial integrity of the United States, the citizen of the United States is only entitled to the limited hospitality of a few open ports, and in them only for the purpose of trade, travel, or residence.

But the Government of the United States does not wish to conduct this discussion in any controversial spirit. It has no desire or intention to do injustice to the character of the Chinese laborer. But it does feel justified in asking that it shall be allowed to judge for itself to what extent the immigration of Chinese labor is useful and advantageous, and that whenever at particular times or particular places it feels that its social or industrial interests require a limitation or prohibition of such immigration, it shall have the authority with due communication to the representatives of the Chinese Government to regulate it as is most consonant with those interests.

So far as those are concerned who, under treaty guarantee, have come to the United States, the government recognizes but one duty, and that is to maintain them in the exercise of their treaty privileges against any opposition, whether it takes the shape of popular violence or of legislative enactment. And that the Government of the United States has fully discharged this duty is apparent from the fact which we may assume is within the knowledge of the Chinese Government, that the courts of the United States have, on every occasion where the issue has been raised, sustained the privileges of the treaty against the limitation of the State law. The disturbances which have sometimes occurred from occasional excitement of popular feeling are too small and too rare to furnish subject of discussion now.

The Government of the United States feels that in bringing this subject to your attention, it is deferring to the opinion of the Chinese Government, which, if we are rightly informed, has never encouraged the immigration of its people, which does not wish that immigration from China should be assimilated to immigration from other countries, and which prefers that such immigration should be under its own control.

The commissioners of the United States feel that they are warranted in thus interpreting the wishes of the Chinese Government, from the fact that in a recent treaty with Spain the Chinese Government granted to the local authorities of the Island of Cuba the right to exercise a discretion of the same character which the Government of the United States desires should be recognized as its right.

As the most earnest desire and purpose of the Government of the United States are not only to adhere with scrupulous fidelity to their treaty obligations, but to construe all such obligations in that spirit of friendly liberality which has marked its relations with the Chinese Government, we have been instructed to meet you in amicable consultation to review such treaty provisions as bear upon the subject, and to seek with you a solution of the difficulties which will be alike honorable and satisfactory to both countries. Any suggestion of the Chinese Government as to the form in which such modification of existing treaties can be made most agreeable to it will receive from us the most respectful and attentive consideration.

The Chinese commissioners, while ostensibly equally polite and deferential, in their written comments on the foregoing, made statements which the Americans felt they could not pass over. Commissioner Trescot on behalf of his colleagues at a conference on October 13 commented orally on the Chinese reply:

We have received the communication of your excellencies, with the request that we would say how it strikes us.

We will do so with entire frankness, but you must first allow us to correct some misconceptions, which we think your excellencies will not be unwilling to have removed.

You say, referring to immigration into the United States of Chinese laborers: "Formerly, when there was a demand for these laborers, the only fear was that they would not go thither, and now because of the influence of violent men there exists a desire that they stay away."

Again: "But now, because the Chinese do good work for small remuneration, the rabble are making a complaint." Again: "If now, because of temporary competition between the Irish and stranger guests a decision is lightly taken to change the policy of the government, contradiction with the Constitution of the United States and existing treaties cannot be avoided."

Knowing as we do the well established and traditional courtesy of the Chinese Government in its relations with other nations, we are sure that you did not mean to give offense by this language. But we feel it our duty both to ourselves and to our government to recall to your attention that we represent the Government of the United States, and that any communication we make



comes from it, after careful and most friendly consideration, and is entitled at your hands to the same respect with which any communication from you has been, and will always be, received by us. You can scarcely mean to say that the Government of the United States is merely speaking the language of "violent men," or that the great nation in whose name it addresses you is "rabble," or that "a competition between the Irish and stranger guests" is the motive of its conduct.

You will certainly recognize that the Government of the United States, like the Government of China, has the right to appreciate for itself the motives of its own policy, and that when it addresses to the Chinese Government a communication upon a subject of grave interest in respectful and friendly language, it cannot allow the representatives of China to go behind that communication, and either criticise its motives or deny the good faith of its representations.

A considerable amount of polite give and take discussion followed these comments before the conference of October 13 adjourned.

At a meeting on the twenty-third the most encouraging occurrence was a statement by Shen, a respected and influential member of the Yamen in attendance, that the two American commissioners need not be uneasy for fear they would not get through before winter ice closed the river to navigation because China was as desirous as America to conclude the business at an early day.

On Sunday, October 31, there was a meeting at which all the members of the Yamen were present. (Angell attended on the Sabbath only under protest and at the strong urging of his colleagues.) The Chinese politely presented what amounted to a complete treaty of their own. In numerous features the Americans found this paper unacceptable, but took it away with promises to consider the suggestions. Next day they agreed among themselves to accept certain minor items and to send in a brief statement of why the others were objectionable. They thought it tactful to provide that the United States "regulate" immigration, rather than prohibit it.

On November 5, after a discouraging start, the negotiations finally and suddenly came to a head. The recollection of the conference remained so vivid in Angell's memory that after a lapse of thirty-one years, he wrote in his *Reminiscences* a paragraph still breathing relief and contentment: "Two [actually five] days later we had a most anxious, and, as it proved, a decisive session with the Chinese. We took up the first Article in their draft and the first in ours, regulating immigration, and found ourselves so at variance with them, that Mr. Swift declared they did not mean to give us a treaty, and Mr. Trescot, usually hopeful, thought we had come to the end, and that we had better state our ulti-

matum and go. But I saw the Chinese earnestly discussing and I suggested patience, saying that we might well spend an hour there, that perhaps never would our time be more valuable. Let us leave this Article, I advised, and take up the last. Let the fish chew the bait awhile. The last Article was one which provided that no laws we should pass in respect to immigration should be operative until approved by them. This was so unreasonable that they soon said they would waive that. Then we took up the Article in which they seemed to us to ask that Chinese students and merchants could take with them employees. They explained that they meant by that only household servants. To that we had no objection. Having now got into the mood of agreeing, we went back to Article I. I pointed out to them that this clause asking that no limitation should be excessively great or excessively long was inappropriate to a treaty, and would only cause discussion instead of hindering it. They consented to change that. As to their clause about penalties they said they only wished to guard against personal abuse and maltreatment. We agreed to guard against this. We thus paved the way for dove-tailing their first Article and ours together, and the work was done. It was agreed that Mr. Holcombe, the Secretary, should come the next day and with them arrange the texts." This was carried out.

It was on the evening of this day that the Minister recorded in his diary: "This was the first meeting at which I had felt much nervous draught on me. I have no doubt the Chinese meant to give us the treaty, but intended to concede as little as possible."

Final signature came on November 17. In the meantime an additional, commercial, treaty was prepared, and both were signed without incident, except for arousing the astonishment of the diplomatic corps at so much having been completed within a period of forty-eight days. On the basis of his long experience von Brandt had expected that two years would be required.

The treaties were brief. The one relating to immigration contained four articles, providing:

#### ARTICLE I.

Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country or of any locality within the territory thereof, the Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other



classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subject to personal maltreatment or abuse.

#### ARTICLE II.

Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

#### ARTICLE III.

If Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any other class, now either permanently or temporarily residing in the territory of the United States, meet with ill treatment at the hands of any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty.

#### ARTICLE IV.

The high contracting Powers having agreed upon the foregoing articles, whenever the Government of the United States shall adopt legislative measures in accordance therewith, such measures will be communicated to the Government of China. If the measures as enacted are found to work hardship upon the subjects of China, the Chinese Minister at Washington may bring the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State of the United States, who will consider the subject with him; and the Chinese Foreign Office may also bring the matter to the notice of the United States Minister at Peking and consider the subject with him, to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed the foregoing at Peking in English and Chinese being three originals of each text of even tenor and date, the ratifications of which shall be exchanged at Peking within one year from date of its execution.

Done at Peking, this seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1880. Kuanghsü, sixth year, tenth moon, fifteenth day.

The treaty of commerce provided:

#### ARTICLE I.

The Governments of the United States and China, recognizing the benefits of their past commercial relations, and in order still further to promote such relations between the citizens and subjects of the two powers, mutually agree to give the most careful and favorable attention to the representations of either as to such special extension of commercial intercourse as either may desire.

## ARTICLE II.

The Governments of China and of the United States mutually agree and undertake that Chinese subjects shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States; and citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of China; to transport it from one open port to any other open port; or to buy and sell opium in any of the open ports of China. This absolute prohibition, which extends to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either power, to foreign vessels employed by them, or to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either power and employed by other persons for the transportation of opium, shall be enforced by appropriate legislation on the part of China and the United States; and the benefits of the favored nation clause in existing treaties shall not be claimed by the citizens or subjects of either power as against the provisions of this article.<sup>6</sup>

## ARTICLE III.

His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China hereby promises and agrees that no other kind or higher rate of tonnage dues, or duties for imports or exports, or coastwise trade shall be imposed or levied in the open ports of China upon vessels wholly belonging to citizens of the United States; or upon the produce, manufactures or merchandise imported in the same from the United States; or from any foreign country; or upon the produce, manufactures or merchandise exported in the same to the United States or to any foreign country; or transported in the same from one open port of China to another, than are imposed or levied on vessels or cargoes of any other nation or on those of Chinese subjects.

The United States hereby promise and agree that no other kind or higher rate of tonnage-dues or duties for imports shall be imposed or levied in the ports of the United States upon vessels wholly belonging to the subjects of His Imperial Majesty and coming either directly or by way of any foreign port, from any of the ports of China which are open to foreign trade, to the ports of the United States; or returning therefrom either directly or by way of any foreign port, to any of the open ports of China; or upon the produce, manufactures or merchandise imported in the same from China or from any foreign country, than are imposed or levied on vessels of other nations which make no discrimination against the United States in tonnage-dues or duties on imports, exports or coastwise trade; or than are imposed or levied on vessels and cargoes of citizens of the United States.

## ARTICLE IV.

When controversies arise in the Chinese Empire between citizens of the United States and subjects of His Imperial Majesty, which need to be examined and decided by the public officers of the two nations, it is agreed between the Governments of the United States and China that such cases shall be tried by the proper official of the nationality of the defendant. The properly authorized official of the plaintiff's nationality shall be freely permitted to attend

<sup>6</sup> Li Hung Chang himself was the sponsor of this article, which Trescot felt might give offense to England.



the trial and shall be treated with the courtesy due to his position. He shall be granted all proper facilities for watching the proceedings in the interests of justice. If he so desires, he shall have the right to present, to examine and to cross-examine witnesses. If he is dissatisfied with the proceedings, he shall be permitted to protest against them in detail. The law administered will be the law of the nationality of the officer trying the case.

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed the foregoing at Peking in English and Chinese, being three originals of each text, of even tenor and date, the ratifications of which shall be exchanged at Peking within one year from the date of its execution.

Done at Peking this seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1880, Kuanghsü, sixth year, tenth moon, fifteenth day.

Their work done, after one more angry disagreement about the announcement that should be given to the New York *Herald* correspondent, Messrs. Swift and Trescot "made up" and accepted the paper Angell had prepared for the purpose. They started for home on November 20, seemingly pleased, after all, with the treaty and with their contributions toward it. In the homely phrase of his successor, President Harry B. Hutchins, his colleagues had given Angell need for frequent use of the oil can, but friction between them ultimately had been remedied on each occasion. But the social breach between the Angells and Mrs. Swift had not been healed.

A message had been sent by wire to Secretary Evarts, and the treaties were forwarded by mail. After a long deadlock on wholly unrelated political matters, they were ultimately ratified by the United States Senate on May 5, 1881. Congress in due course adopted the regulatory legislation which the treaty terms permitted, though in course of time—and not a very long time—such legislation went beyond the anticipations of the negotiators of the treaty and completely prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers into the United States.

# *Portrait of a Foreign*

## *Minister*

### CHAPTER XX

*With the treaties* an accomplished fact and with the departure of his fellow commissioners, Angell found himself busy with many things of routine importance. One of his first duties was to try an American citizen who had been for fifteen years in the employ of Sir Robert Hart, the British head of the Chinese customs. The charge against this man was kidnaping, and the basis of it was his admitted elopement with a Chinese nun. The Minister found him not guilty, presumably on the technical ground that the lady, so far from being kidnaped, was a wholly consenting bride. But the transaction, however romantic, did not appeal either to Sir Robert or to Angell, and the latter declined bluntly to intercede with the former regarding the groom's deprivation of the pension to which after his decade and a half of service he would otherwise have been entitled. The bridegroom had to go to work.

One of the first of the problems that made up his correspondence with Secretary Evarts was the punishments inflicted in the so-called Mixed Courts by the Chinese judges on their own countrymen. Foreign defendants accused by Chinese were tried in extraterritorial courts of the defendants' consulates. The Mixed Courts had been established in 1864 for adjudication of cases where the complainants were foreigners and the defendants were Chinese.<sup>1</sup> To any western eye the penalties imposed after convictions were often cruel and inhuman. While for trials of Chinese in the Mixed Courts the consul of the country of the complaining witness sent representatives known as "assessors," these officials had no authority and could not interfere or interpose. But they were compelled to see the methods of examination of witnesses and the punish-

<sup>1</sup> See confirmation in Article IV of the Commercial Treaty, *supra*.



ment of men adjudged guilty, and they could do nothing save observe and report to their consul. Consul Denny, to whom Angell applied for information, told him that he believed not one of the men acting as assessors was other than revolted and horrified by what they had seen done in the guise of Chinese justice. Witnesses were tortured to make them talk and defendants to make them confess. Punishments of the convicted consisted ordinarily of beatings with bamboo rods and of sentence to the cangue. This last was a heavy board, of broad dimensions each way, placed round the culprit's neck. Not infrequently his wrists also were confined in the contraption. By law beatings were not to exceed one hundred strokes, but there were cases within Dr. Denny's knowledge where this number had been increased several fold. The courts frequently made one concession; namely by postponing infliction of the penalties to afternoon sessions, when the assessors were not in attendance. But, concluded the consul, such proceedings have been from time immemorial a part of the Chinese code, and there is nothing the Occidental can do about it. He cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the country to which he is sent. Angell's report to Secretary Evarts on these distasteful matters was occasioned by a publication in London in July, 1880, demanding that, in some undefined way, these procedures be rectified.<sup>2</sup>

Another subject of correspondence had a more favorable termination. This had to do with the forms employed in official intercourse between the Chinese government at various levels and the Occidental representatives, more especially the consuls. As the Minister reported to Mr. Evarts: "In this country where so much importance is attached to official etiquette and ceremony, this is a matter of consequence." (Perhaps the Minister's recollection of his difficulties with American protocol, on his arrival with his fellow commissioners, caused him to reflect that it was not solely the Chinese who accorded it importance.) This matter had been a subject of negotiation between the foreign diplomats and the Tsung-li Yamen before Angell's arrival. Finally, in a dispatch of December 20, 1880, Angell could report its amicable settlement. A consul, whether at a port or in the interior, was assured of an audience with representatives of the government, local or provincial, and was not to be treated as subordinate, "no matter what the inferiority of his official rank, but according to the etiquette between guest and host." The arrangement went so far as to designate the Chinese written characters to be used to avoid any appearance of subordination. The Chinese protocol

<sup>2</sup> *Papers . . . Foreign Relations of the United States, 1881* (Washington, 1882), pp. 213-16.

of using a red pencil in addressing communications to subordinates was made inapplicable to any communications with consuls of the western nations.<sup>3</sup>

At the end of August, 1881, the Minister reported to the State Department that he had issued to the ten American consuls in the Chinese empire new regulations governing notice to American citizens involved in legal proceedings in the consular courts. Considerable trouble had been experienced in securing legal service on persons whose addresses for various reasons were unknown at the time. It had become clear that in addition to the ordinary difficulties involved in removals from place to place, a number of persons had hidden themselves in remote parts of the empire. To provide for such cases publication in a newspaper of suitable location and circulation was decreed to be adequate service, provided the notice was published at least five months before the time fixed for the trial by the consul and provided also that publication was made in from four to six issues of the paper. The consuls all approved of this order.<sup>4</sup>

Angell investigated the maltreatment of an American crew following the wreck of the sailing ship "James Bailey," demanded punishment of the natives who had harassed the sailors or looted the wreck, and sent a dispatch of thanks to the British consul who had vigorously come to the aid of the men and provided for the protection of the ship.<sup>5</sup>

Import and export duties, and the "liken" tax at provincial boundaries demanded much time and attention. Transit passes for goods shipped from upriver in native junks were closely bound up with the liken duties and were a recurring object of attention.<sup>6</sup> Angell opposed a proposed agreement giving a monopoly to a foreign-owned telegraph company.<sup>7</sup> And he sent home a copy of an exceedingly lengthy memorial on China's need for a railroad system; this document was the work of a very intelligent retired Chinese general and was endorsed at even greater length by Li Hung Chang and an associate.<sup>8</sup> He reported also that China had no law or usage resembling American patent laws. Such protection, he thought, was of no value in China as few Chinese, including officials, looked with favor on the introduction of labor-saving machines or inventions of any kind. He "fear[ed] that, for some time to come, the Chinese [would] not make sufficient use of our inventions to work much

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 219-22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 297-99.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25, 234-40, 313-14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224 and numerous later pages.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 244-54.



harm to our citizens" even in the absence of the protection afforded by patents.<sup>9</sup>

The Japanese Minister asked his advice on the long disappointment Japan's representative had suffered in endeavoring to make any progress whatever toward a treaty.<sup>10</sup> Angell reported the diplomatic corps' inability to arouse any interest in the Chinese government in the dredging of a channel across the Woosung bar below Shanghai, though commerce was greatly impeded and its expense increased by this barrier. Besides the natural inertia of the Chinese mind—the allegation that it would be almost an impiety to remove what Providence had put there—it was held the bar would serve as a barrier to ironclads should a foreign war ever come to China. Moreover, if the channel were to be widened and deepened larger waves would roll in to the disadvantage of the harbor—and anyway the Chinese did not want it done.<sup>11</sup>

The Angell family became devotees of horseback riding as a principal recreation, and the four horses in the stable had plenty of work. Young "Jimmie," who made a slow start as an equestrian, ultimately gave his parents great pride in his self-reliant horsemanship. The family made excursions, some of these of several days' length, to the Great Wall, to temples, and to other points of historical interest. At one time Angell visited the great imperial examination hall, where scholars came every three years to take the examinations, success in which might mean their appointment to positions of importance in the government. As an educator familiar with "examination periods," he was impressed by the fact that this hall had 13,000 cells, each less than six feet high, about four feet deep, and three and a half feet wide, with not a piece of furniture in it. In his diary he records: "The walls of each cell are apparently arranged to receive two boards, one for a seat and one for a desk. In the central buildings are tablets to Confucius and the sages. It was impressive to consider with what emotions the great Triennial tests have been undergone here, which have opened the door to position and fame or blasted the fond hopes of those who had been toiling a lifetime and had journeyed hither from the remotest borders of their Empire."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23.

<sup>10</sup> *Reminiscences*, pp. 149-50.

<sup>11</sup> *Papers . . . Foreign Relations of the United States, 1881*, pp. 179-82.

<sup>12</sup> Esson Gale writes privately: "Promptly upon my arrival at Peking in 1908, twenty-eight years after Dr. Angell wrote the above, I visited the site of the great metropolitan examination halls. These had been abandoned some years before, in fact the innumerable cells now represented only heaps of bricks and rubble. They had been destroyed in the attack upon Peking by the allied expeditions during the Boxer siege in 1900. Their ruins represented most graphically the decadence of the



The formal dinners among the diplomatic corps were on the whole boring—neither the company nor the conversation varied much from one gathering to another. Diplomatic reserve greatly restricted the subjects which could be discussed. The most enjoyable dinners were the small “family” affairs, and of these the informal extemporaneous celebration of the twenty-fifth wedding anniversary was held to be the best of all. On November 26, the diary records: “Today 25th anniversary of our marriage. The fact somehow leaked out during the day, and several of our friends came in to offer their congratulations. Sir Thomas came in twice, the last time at 10 p.m. and talked in his best way until after 11.”<sup>13</sup>

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old Chinese cultural system. As is well-known the entire civil service system of China had been based upon examinations in Chinese classics alone. The West had its counterpart in the type of examinations given to British civil servants, chiefly the classics of ancient Greece and Rome. While the subject matter was seemingly unrelated to public administration, in both cases it nevertheless served to test talent and to produce often great administrators as Lord Cromer in Egypt and innumerable officials of the highest order in China. To quote from E. T. Williams, *China, Yesterday and Today*, ‘Once a year the county magistrate held an examination in his yamen of the young men who wanted to compete for admission to the Civil Service. The most promising students were selected to enter an examination the next year at the prefectural capital. The best of these were given the degree of *Hsiu Ts’ai*, commonly reckoned by Europeans as a B.A. degree. This degree qualified the holder to enter the list the third year at the provincial capital, where thousands were gathered in the great examination hall. I have known as many as 27,000 to attend the examinations at Nanking. Three times for twenty-four hours each time the student was fastened in a cell, unable to communicate with anyone else, and while there required to write a thesis or a poem upon an assigned subject. The paper when finished was enclosed in an envelope which was marked with a cipher. Another envelope with the same cipher contained the student’s name. This was designed to secure impartiality in the marking of the papers. But no matter how good the papers, the number who could be allowed to pass was strictly limited, and of these a fixed proportion had to be Manchus. Out of 27,000 not more than 300 could obtain the degree of *Chü Jen*. These the following year would assemble in Peking for the metropolitan examination, where out of some 6,000 candidates about 300 would secure the degree of *Tsin Shih*, and one-third of these, in a subsequent palace examination, would be given the title of *Han Lin* and admitted to the National Academy. From these men were selected the historiographers who compiled the dynastic history.

“The chief purpose of the examination, therefore, was to prepare men to serve the state, and nearly all the officials, from district (or county) magistrate to the prime minister obtained their appointments originally through this method.”

<sup>13</sup> Mrs. Angell naturally went into more detail as she recorded in her own diary: “This day is the 25th Anniversary of our Wedded Happiness, how little we imagined on our wedding day that if our Silver Wedding ever came it would find us in the Flowery Kingdom of the Celestials. We perhaps were somewhat saddened by the thought of our removal from so many who would have delighted to share in our happy anniversary but we felt that too many signal blessings had marked our path



The fourth of March was marked by a dinner at the legation for all twenty-three Americans resident in Peking, in celebration of the inauguration of President Garfield. In his diary Angell wrote: "We had our portraits of Garfield displayed & flags spread in the halls. After dinner Jamie gave us fireworks and we sang the Star Spangled Banner, Hail Columbia, & John Brown." They could not know how soon the legation flags would be at half-mast for the President. Already, however, news had come of the death of Angell's former academic colleague, the distinguished astronomer, James C. Watson. But the truly grieving sorrow was the death of Angell's friend of his college days, Professor J. Lewis Diman, then of the Brown University faculty. He wrote of this as the saddest loss he had ever sustained outside his own family circle. He reverts to this sorrow numerous times in diary and letters: "For 34 years our friendship has been such as seldom exists between men, I think—a blessing for which I devoutly thank God." His death "haunts me every moment."<sup>14</sup>

The sudden death of one of the two Empress Dowager regents brought to Chinese officialdom a great and wordy display of grief that nobody, seemingly, felt very deeply. The genuine emotions which it aroused were mostly those of anxiety as to the effect it might have on imperial policy and how official preferment might be affected. The Chinese Li Hung Chang, however, continued on as principal adviser to the surviving Manchu regent, and the legations found no change in foreign relations. The fear of war with Russia subsided among the diplomats, even after the assassination at nihilist hands of the Czar Alexander II. Admittedly, very few of the Chinese official class had greatly feared Russia. Sir Thomas Wade had told Angell "in illustration of the belief that all nations are dependencies of China, that in the recent troubles with Russia a high official sent in a memorial to the throne, in which

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to allow of any melancholy. The children gave us tokens of affection and my best man my true good man gave me some days ago an elegant piece of embroidery as a remembrance of the time, I gave him a silver paper knife of curious pattern and quaint embossing and a family Bible. This last was to take the place of the one which did not come with us in our box of Books."

<sup>14</sup> To Alexis, Angell wrote, on April 11, 1881: "The American mail with your letter of Feb. 13-15 reached us on the 9th. My letters were all darkened with the sad news of Diman's death. I am very glad you wrote to Mrs. D. This is the heaviest affliction which, outside of our own family, has ever come to me. It is like cleaving off a part of my own life. For 34 years we have been friends, as few men are. My affection for him was equalled only by my admiration of his splendid gifts. I cannot comprehend how so vigorous a frame should have so withered at the touch of disease. I should have selected him as the longest-lived of our four inseparables, Murray, Hazard, Diman, & myself. I am glad you knew him so well."

he referred to the Russians as a tribe who had forgotten their allegiance." <sup>15</sup>

There was a day that brought a happy word from the University. On April 11, while Angell was writing of his grief for Diman, a cablegram from Dr. Frieze announced that the legislature had "appropriated \$100,000 for a library building, and \$60,000 for other purposes." And on the same day he read in a belated California paper that two able and outstanding friends, James F. Joy and Austin Blair, had been chosen as Regents. "The day was a bright one for Univ'y news."

But all in all it was the missionaries who most largely claimed his time and attention, with pleasure to them as well as to him. In these matters, Mrs. Angell was delighted to be of more help than she could be in his relations with the Chinese government. Both the husband and the wife were deeply impressed with the importance of the missionaries. The Angells unaffectedly believed that these men and women were not only contributing to friendly relations, in spite of events to the contrary now and then, but were devotedly carrying out the scriptural command to carry the Gospel over all the earth. Angell delighted in the meetings where problems of approach were discussed. The matter of ancestor worship had divided the early Roman Catholic missionaries, until they were banished by an imperial decree which all but ruined their impressive accomplishments. The leaders of later missionaries sought to avoid such wreckage of their work. On February 14 at a meeting of the "Peking Club," Secretary Holcombe read a paper on "The Practical Relations of Confucianism to Christian Work." <sup>16</sup> The secretary took the ground that ancestor worship, the education which looks to the past alone, and the literary aristocracy which belongs to Confucianism were the greatest obstacles to Christianity. Angell does not say whether he took part in the long and "very spirited" discussion that followed. One speaker was "sometimes afraid Confucianism was going to convert the missionaries who had come to convert the Chinese." It would be hard, from what he wrote, to pin Angell down to agreement with any of the numerous views he recorded, but clearly he delighted in the discussion as genuinely as in the classroom talk of his early teachers.

He paid a visit to the French Jesuit cemetery, where he saw monuments to Xavier and Loyola and St. Joseph. In the rank growth of weeds that covered the entire enclosure he could not find the grave of Schaal, which he particularly sought, among the European and Chinese graves

<sup>15</sup> "Diary."

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*



of members of the Society. "But I could not but feel," he records, "that I was treading the dust of men for whom I have much reverence, great men, great in talent, in attainments, in achievements."<sup>17</sup>

Of another cemetery he writes in his diary on July 14: "At 9 a.m. went to the English cemetery to attend the funeral of the Lowrys'<sup>18</sup> infant child. It was one of the most impressive funerals I ever attended. The cemetery is more cheerful than I had expected to find it. There are buried several missionaries and their children and four of the unfortunate fellows killed by inches by the Chinese in the war of 1860. Rev. Mr. Owen conducted the service and standing near the graves of two of his children his voice broke again and again with emotion. While they were filling the grave, the bystanders struck up a hymn, which touched one's heart beyond expression."

By earlier action of the government, Catholic converts had been exempted from assessments toward the cost of non-Christian religious processions and celebrations. The Minister secured extension of these exemptions to the Chinese Protestants.<sup>19</sup> His most strikingly energetic service to the missionary community, however, was reported by him to Secretary Blaine in dispatches which, with accompanying documents, occupy six pages of the *Foreign Relations* volume of 1881.<sup>20</sup> A Presbyterian missionary, Reverend D. C. McCoy, after many years in China, preparatory to a visit to America, announced the usual auction of his effects. On this occasion a number of lawless Chinese made their way into the enclosure, creating a disturbance and damaging property. As the disorder persisted the crowd grew. A messenger reached Angell about nine in the evening with this news, but was immediately followed by another saying the crowd had dispersed. Nevertheless, Angell sent a representative to the Tsung-li Yamen requesting action by this major body. In the morning signs of greater trouble appeared.

The Minister continued, in his report, "On Sunday morning at 10:30 a.m., I rode up to the mission. I found about 50 Chinamen gathered in front of the gate, and Rev. Mr. Wherry, one of the missionaries, talking with them. I inspected the premises and became satisfied from what I saw and heard that within an hour there would again be a large assemblage in the street and danger of further trouble. So I galloped as

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Mr. Lowry, the child's father, was a brother of George W. Lowry, of the University of Michigan Medical Class of 1874.

<sup>19</sup> *Papers . . . Foreign Relations of the United States, 1881*, pp. 272 and 297.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 265-70.

rapidly as possible to the legation <sup>21</sup> and with the interpreter hurried to the foreign office to complain that no proper police force had yet been sent, and to represent that action must be taken without the least delay. As it was then (at noon) too early for the ministers to be at the foreign office, I saw one of the secretaries, who assured me that all I asked should be done immediately.

"Meantime Sir Thomas Wade, having heard that I had gone to the mission and that a throng was gathering there, had kindly sent his Chinese secretary, Mr. Baber, with a mounted escort first to the foreign office and thence to the mission.

"Soon after my return from the foreign office I received the news that, as I had anticipated, a crowd of some hundreds had gathered about the mission premises, that they were making offensive demonstrations, but that a police sergeant had made one arrest, and that this had caused many of the Chinese to go away. But I thought it judicious for me to see the ministers of the foreign office. So at 2:30 p.m., I went up again and met three of them. I found them apparently very desirous of putting an immediate end to the trouble. They informed me that his excellency Ch'ung, who is one of their number, and who is also lieutenant-general, in command of the troops of the western half of the city, had already gone to the scene of disorder. I suggested that there should be a guard left there through the night and that some suitable proclamation should be posted on the walls to prevent any further trouble. They said that they would attend to all this. I sent a messenger to the mission to announce the result of my interview with the ministers. In about two hours the messenger returned with the news that Ch'ung had arrived on the ground early in the afternoon with 40 soldiers, had arrested 5 men, and that the crowd had dispersed. The foreign office sent me a similar report at evening, a copy of which I inclose.

"Monday morning early I sent up a messenger, who reported that 20 soldiers had guarded the premises through the night, and that there had been no disturbance there, but that the drug store and residence of one of the Chinese converts had been stoned. I sent Mr. Taylor to the foreign office to thank them for their action, to request that the proclamation be posted on a chapel, which the mission owns and occupies in another street, and also to inquire whether it might not wisely be placed on the residence of the Chinese church member who had been disturbed, and whether there was any reason why Mr. McCoy should not set out on his journey on the following day. In a few hours I received

<sup>21</sup> Did he think en route of Paul Revere?



a message from the foreign office saying that the proclamation would be posted on the street chapel and that Mr. McCoy could depart whenever he wished, and that if desired they would furnish him a military escort. As to the druggist, he being a Chinaman, had only to apply to the local authorities if he needed protection.

"In the afternoon I visited the mission and found the soldiers still there. I learned also that the local police official, the Ting-erh, had been removed and degraded, but whether for his inefficiency or for some other cause I do not know. He desired an interview with me to ask that I would intercede for his restoration to office; I declined to see him. While I was there, the proclamation of En, the military governor of the city, and Ch'ung and Wen the lieutenant-generals, was posted on the wall opposite the entrance to the mission. I inclose a translation of it.<sup>22</sup>

"On Tuesday, the 26th, the five men who had been arrested and probably bamboozed, were placed before the gate of the mission with cangues upon their necks.

"And so I trust this affair has ended. The Tsung-li-Yamen have shown the most commendable spirit in their treatment of the case. In truth the affair has an importance just now which in ordinary circumstances it would not have, and it is not at all improbable that this, not very serious disturbance, has happened just in time to prevent a graver disorder. There has been for the last two or three weeks a rapidly increasing flood of rumors in and about Peking of some sort of a general movement against foreigners. One day the report [came] that the towers of one

<sup>22</sup> "Proclamation of En, Ch'ung, and Wen" (chief military authorities of Peking).

"Let all you people clearly understand this:

"Whereas, at the sale of furniture which took place at the chapel in the Yen Erh Hu-Tung, the said sale being conducted with perfect fairness between buyer and seller, there were ignorant fellows who crowded the place and availed themselves of the situation to create a disturbance, thereby greatly hindering and damaging the sale:

"Therefore we issue this proclamation and expect you residents in the neighborhood, both soldiers and commoners, likewise you passers-by, one and all, to clearly understand that you are not to yield to your feelings and loiter in the vicinity of the chapel to create a disturbance. If after this admonition there be fellows who disregard this proclamation and dare to create a disturbance, we trust to the local police and the military, whom we shall send in addition, to arrest them and send them to our office, when severe punishment will be dealt out. On no account will any indulgence be shown.

"Let none disregard this special proclamation.

"Kuang Hsü, 7th year, 3d moon, 27th day (Ap. 24th).

"*A bona fide placard.*"

Messrs. En, Ch'ung, and Wen clearly "meant business."

of the Roman Catholic churches, or the church itself, was to be destroyed. The next day the story was that the stone posts and chains which make an inclosure in front of the French legation were to be torn down. The ignorant populace feed on such tales and become morbidly excited, so that the slightest disturbance may easily grow into a serious affair.

"I spoke to the Yamen of these rumors, as some of the other ministers have also done. They assured me that they were desirous of learning who originated them and of punishing severely such persons. And well they may be. For repeatedly in China, such reports have been the precursors and in large part the causes of serious disorder and of crimes. The prompt treatment of this little disturbance at the Presbyterian mission will doubtless prevent any further trouble in the city.

"I have taken occasion formally to thank Sir Thomas Wade for the aid he kindly gave me."

Thus ended the Minister's most exciting two days in Peking. Sir Thomas Wade had already warned Angell of the ever-present possibility of small things leading to great—with no knowledge then that his own house was to go up in flames in the Boxer Rebellion. Angell had had, also, to deal with disturbances at outlying points of the empire similar to those at Mr. McCoy's residence in Peking.

While these were the most exciting days, they were not the most laborious. Witness Mrs. Angell's letter to Alexis, dated August 20, 1881: "Your Father gave himself up two days this week to fighting caterpillars. You would have roared to see him standing round in white Duck Trousers and Calico shirt, ordering three or four coolies naked to the waist to brush down the trunks of the trees, brush up the caterpillars in heaps, trample them till they seemed dead brush them up in baskets carry them outside the gate and returning find the same process could be repeated. Truly by the time half a dozen trees were treated in this way the first one was again covered. Two days of this uncomfortable week your Father was very much occupied with his official business and two with these pests and the other two he gave up to trying to keep cool and those he thought the most trying of all."

Another personal letter to Alexis was written by his father, in which along with a description of his active "grocery business" in disposing of what remained of the supplies brought over the year before, he speaks of Mrs. Angell's activities: "Your mother gave her last garden party a week ago & reluctantly abandons large dinner parties. The good woman's hospitality is irrepressible. We are fearful that of the articles bought here



she will have nothing to herself, but will distribute them all, since she sees nothing beautiful without remarking how it would please this one or that one."

The principal work for which Angell had gone to China, namely, the treaty negotiations, had long since been completed, and, in accordance with his original purpose to stay abroad for but a single year, he felt the time had come to terminate his Chinese mission. In April he communicated his decision on the subject to the Secretary of State, and in the correspondence files there is in Angell's handwriting a copy of Secretary Blaine's acceptance of the resignation. It reads:

"Department of State  
Washington, June 20, 1881

"Mr. James B. Angell  
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary  
at Peking

Sir:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch No. 141 of April 16th last, tendering your resignation of the post of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Peking and requesting to be relieved by the first of October next, unless it should be found expedient to do so prior to that date, in order to enable you to resume your regular duties at the University of Michigan.

"In accepting your resignation the President desires me to convey to you his high appreciation of the able and faithful manner in which you have discharged the onerous and delicate responsibilities which have devolved upon you during your continuance in the mission, and his regret that the government should thus lose the services of a trusted and efficient officer.

"Appreciating the motives to which you advert and which induce you to remain at your post until the return of Mr. Holcombe, now on leave of absence in the United States,

I am, Sir  
Your obedient servant  
James G. Blaine"

A final tribute from the missionaries on September 29 resulted in this entry in the diary: "Attended meeting of Peking Miss'y Ass'n at Mr. Lowry's after dining there. I supposed the object was to meet Bishop Bowman. After he had spoken on Missionary work, to my surprise I heard Mr. Wherry, the Chairman, begin to read an Address of the body

to me, thanking me for my official course. I was thoroughly surprised. And even more so when, on his concluding Mr. Lowry presented my family a pair of beautiful cloisonné vases, which I had been admiring. I stammered out a reply as best I could. Dr. Edkins, Dr. Dudgeon, Mr. Whitney & Mr. Spinney followed with remarks. I was truly touched, but it is very embarrassing to be talked at in so kind a way in public."

The Regents had extended his leave to cover an additional semester. But if he were to give his family the opportunity to see Europe, as he desired, departure could not be much longer delayed, and on October 4, after confusion almost convulsive, involving sales, gifts, packing, and official farewells, accompanied by a retinue of friends who went part way to the canal, they left the legation. Partings with Sir Thomas Wade, and the Harts were especially hard. "The good Sir T[homas]," wrote Angell in his diary, "fairly broke down as did I when we parted. He is a man of pure and noble spirit, of great intellectual brightness, of exquisite literary taste, and has done his country good service and himself great credit by his forty years of toil here. . . . Mrs. H[art], though thought to be an undemonstrative person, fairly gave way on parting and assured us that no people had ever come to Peking, whom she and Mr. Hart had become so much attached to. We were indeed all moved at parting. Kind and loved friends we have indeed found in Peking, whom we shall always esteem. There is very much in the year's new experiences which we shall ever cherish most fondly in memory." After staying one night with missionary friends at Tungchow, and after trying delays during two nights in cold and rain on the river when the boatmen "rested" (staged an early sitdown strike), they reached Tientsin on the morning of the seventh.

Angell was still minister until he formally turned over the legation to Secretary Holcombe at Shanghai on the thirteenth. In the interim he recorded two interesting contacts at Tientsin.<sup>23</sup> On the afternoon of the seventh, in company with the Consul, Mr. Zuck: "I visited the Viceroy [Li]. He was exceedingly affable . . . [and] began by the warmest expressions in respect to my part in the opium clause. I told him, it did not take us a minute to agree on that article, because the article was right. He replied that I had been so instructed in the Xtian [*sic*] doctrine & in the principles of right that it was natural for me to do right. I thought the opportunity favorable to tell him some plain truth. So I ventured to say that I believed we could carry England for the anti-opium doctrine in five years, on one condition, viz, that the Chinese

<sup>23</sup> "Diary."



officials should in at least five Provinces take hold of the work of suppressing the growth of the poppy with vigor enough to show that they are really in earnest. The declaration of the English now is that the Chinese want to stop the importation merely to raise the opium themselves and tax it for revenue. I doubted whether the Viceroy fully enjoyed my urgent statement. He replied that in five Provinces the growth is now controlled, viz, Kansuh, Kiangsi, Anhui, Hunan, and Chihli. He declared that not a spire was grown in his province. As it was not courteous for me to question his statement, I did not do so. But there is abundant evidence that much is grown in Chihli.

"I next expressed the regret that my govnt. [felt] at the recall of the Chinese students. The Viceroy said that . . . . the Yamen had ordered it. His tone indicated that he did not approve the recall. . . .

"The Viceroy seemed very anxious to know who was to succeed me. He kindly expressed a desire that I should remain & said he supposed the care of a Univ<sup>y</sup>. less harassing & trying than diplomatic work. I assured him that the contrary was the case."

The other event was his visit to a hospital, which was under the charge of a medical graduate of the University of Michigan in the Class of 1876, Dr. Leonora Annette Howard, who later became Mrs. Alexander King. She was only one of several Michigan graduates whom Angell met in China. He recorded the occasion on October 8 thus: "At 3 p.m. attended the opening of the beautiful Isabella Fisher Hospital, founded by the generosity of Mr. Goucher of Baltimore, & placed under the care of Miss Howard. The Viceroy, the Taotai, the Salt Com'r & other Chinese officials and the American, British, Russian and German Consuls were present. A repast was spread. The Viceroy & I were placed on the high seats. Miss Howard was escorted by Mr. Pitcher, who in her name made a brief address to the Viceroy. The latter in the most amiable colloquial manner interrupted the speaker from time to time by kind & complimentary remarks to Miss H. I was then called on to speak, which I did briefly, expressing the reasons for my special personal interest in the opening, my satisfaction at this beneficent result of the contact of Eastern & Western life, which had brought so many disadvantages<sup>24</sup> to both the East & the visitors from the West, and my conviction that eminent as were the services of the Viceroy as warrior, diplomatist, and administrator, his countrymen might yet cherish his name as much for these generous deeds in aiding hospitals as for his great public acts.

"The occasion was one of deep interest. It is to be hoped that the

<sup>24</sup> He must have meant to write "advantages."

establishment of the Tientsin hospitals may lead to the founding of others in the great Chinese cities."

Many years later, on February 13, 1904, Herbert F. Fisk, principal of the Northwestern Academy, in Evanston, Illinois, wrote President Angell: "I am very glad to learn by your letter of February 9th that you remember Dr. Howard-King as a graduate of your University and as resident in Tien Tsin when you were in China, and that you have knowledge of her relations with the family of Li and of her hospital work. This knowledge of yours is not inharmonious with the statement that came to me, probably from some intimate friends of Mrs. King's, who learned it from her, that before your arrival in China Madam Li told Miss Howard that one of the great men of America was soon to arrive in China on an important mission to the Chinese government, giving his name. Mrs. King said, 'This Dr. Angell is the President of the University where I received my medical education.' And Madam Li asked with great interest, 'Do you know him, and is he a good man? Can we trust him?' And on Mrs. King's statement, 'He is a good man. You can trust him fully,' Madam Li replied, 'Since you say he is a good man my husband will feel sure and the government will feel sure that he will not try to take any wrongful advantage.'

"I felt interested to inquire whether any direct evidence had reached you that the Chinese statesmen with whom your negotiations were conducted manifested as a result of these conversations a degree of confidence beyond what would ordinarily be expected. The story is a very interesting one even though it remains uncertain whether your mission was more successful or its success more easily accomplished because of the favorable opinion created for you in advance by the testimony of a young woman physician of comparatively brief experience." Many years earlier Rowland Hazard had written Angell in the same vein with respect to Dr. Howard's work and influence.

The party spent several busy days at Shanghai, where Angell met one of his former Brown students. The ship on which the family sailed, the "Irrawaddy," crossed the Woosung bar (which was still there) on October 19, and they were really homeward bound at last.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> In March, 1912, he wrote Esson Gale: "I beg to thank you for sending me a copy of the Shanghai Press with the decisive Decrees, abolishing the Empire, I had known the substance of them, but am very glad to have the very language.

"Really, there is nothing comparable to this in human history, that a great and ancient Empire should by voluntary act of the sovereign give place to a republic, after so little bloodshed. You must count yourself fortunate to be where you see all this with your own eyes.



They made a rambling journey through Europe after landing at Marseilles on November 27. One of the pleasantest features for Angell was his opportunity in Brunswick to renew acquaintance face to face with the few friends surviving from his days there as a student thirty years before. The family finally sailed from England on the Cunarder "Catalonia," and the voyage was anything but pleasant, owing to three heavy gales and the lack of power in the engines of this new ship. The captain endeavored to put in to St. Johns, Newfoundland, to procure needed coal, but was prevented by heavy drift ice. After first running by the harbor of Halifax, the ship finally made port—by burning some of its own woodwork, it was reported. Ultimately, the Angells reached New York after a passage of nineteen days. They came to Ann Arbor on February 24, 1882.

Two results ultimately developed for the University from the Chinese ministry of its President. One was the numbers of Chinese students who later flocked to Michigan, and the other was embodied in the letter written by Sir Robert Hart in 1885, when the Chinese government presented to the University its exhibit at the New Orleans Exposition of 1884-1885. Sir Robert, as president of the Chinese Commission for the Exposition, wrote to his old friend: "I . . . now address you officially to say that from among the several claimants it gave me great pleasure to select your University for the gift, mindful as I was of the pleasant relations you cultivated and maintained, official and private, when at the American Legation here. The destination of the exhibit was duly reported to the Chinese Foreign Board on the 13th August last (1885)." <sup>26</sup>

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"Of course we are all looking with intense eagerness to see what is to follow. We do not allow ourselves to prophesy, but we watch with the greatest concern. [Fortunately he could not know what was to follow within a half century.]

"We have more than fifty Chinese students here. They seem to be all Republicans. They are doing fine work and making an excellent record in all ways so far.

"The old Univ<sup>y</sup>. is very prosperous. We catalogued some 5300 students. Since you left we have erected a Chemical Lab<sup>y</sup> for 1000 students, and a Memorial Building, much the finest here, and are now erecting on the Winchell lot an Auditorium to seat 5000. We are to have a great celebration at Com-t of our 75th anniversary. Perhaps you may get here. If you do, please come & tell me all about China, to which I feel so profound an interest."

<sup>26</sup> "The whole state as well as the University felt the distinction implied in the communication. . . . The exhibit was set up in the Museum, where for over forty years it was a center of interest to students and visitors. When the museum exhibits were removed to the new building in the late 1920's, the changes in the form of Chinese government and in Chinese culture had been such that, in connection with the corruption of moth and rust wrought in the exhibit itself, it was not re-erected but was placed in research quarters where it is still available for the use of interested historians and anthropologists." Smith, *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*, pp. 52-53.

# *In Academic Harness Again*

## CHAPTER XXI

*During the "onfare"*<sup>1</sup> of his welcome home, Angell must have recalled the hard years that had preceded his appointment to China and wondered whether after the present tumult and shouting had died there would be found, again, those who would make it their chief business to discredit and sacrifice him. Happily, never again was there to come into his life such a confederation as had sought his destruction during the later years of the decade of the 1870's. On the Saturday morning when at last the family ended their round the world journey and came again into their own state, there went into Detroit to welcome them a party including the Cooleys, the Palmers, the D'Ooges, the Pettees, and others, while Acting President Frieze went in the night before, and they all came home together, to be met at the Ann Arbor station by other citizens, faculty members, and many students. These latter formed an escort to the President's house, where he made them a brief speech.

That evening a reception, interspersed with glee club singing, was tendered the family in University Hall, with speeches by Dr. Frieze, Judge W. D. Harriman for the city, and other welcomers. Judge Cooley characterized the occasion as "magnificent." But Monday was a different day.

It may be wise to record some of the problems the President sought to solve, which, as they developed, soon required his attention. The mere cataloguing of them will show the range of matters which perforce use up the time and wear on the vitality of a university executive, now as then, though methods as well as problems have changed.

In less than a month Mrs. Cooley was writing her husband that Mrs. Angell had confided in her that the President "finds the finances of the University in a fearful condition—worse than they have ever been since he has had anything to do with them." This condition had surprised him

<sup>1</sup> See p. 125.



since it was in the face of a most optimistic report from Charles K. Adams but a few months earlier, wherein Adams further rejoiced that while "the colleges of the country seem to have been disposed to commit compound Grand Larceny on the University . . . as yet Tyler is the only successful theft. Greene and Pattengill I think will both stay. Pettee, you know, has decided to remain."<sup>2</sup>

Angell presided over the meeting of the Regents on March 29, the minutes of which record that he resumed the practice of beginning with devotional exercises. Both during the Frieze interregnum and later, the invocation was sometimes omitted, if we can trust the official minutes. The last record of Scripture reading or of prayer by the President at meetings of the Regents is in the minutes of the meeting of October 12, 1888. There is no record of the practice being officially abandoned, and it may have continued for some time unrecorded, but it certainly ceased ultimately. There is no one living from whom can be learned the date or the reason, if any, for giving up these opening devotions. It must be extremely doubtful that the President was the moving spirit in the change or that it had his sympathy and approval.

Meanwhile, he watched the effects of the treaties which he had helped to negotiate. There were evidences in a number of British quarters of disapproval of the opium ban.<sup>3</sup> But the American Congress had been prompt and vigorous in enacting legislation which the terms of the treaty permitted. Early in 1882 a bill had passed both Houses suspending immigration of Chinese for twenty years, only to be vetoed by President Arthur, who felt that prohibition for so long a period violated the spirit of the immigration treaty. Then on May 6, 1882, barely ninety days after Angell's return to Ann Arbor, the immigration of Chinese labor, either skilled or unskilled, was suspended for ten years, and this bill the President signed into law. Within six more years immigration was for all practical purposes absolutely prohibited.

<sup>2</sup> In this letter Adams had written: "Laborers are very scarce—even the University is reduced to the necessity (apparently) of hiring Mr. Climie at \$2.50 a day. Could proof be more conclusive?" This "People's Regent" had resigned to superintend University building operations, and had been succeeded on the Board by Michigan's Civil War governor, the able and highly respected Austin Blair.

<sup>3</sup> Judge Cooley had written him: "Singularly enough the opium clause has been assailed by those who declare the trade a great wrong, but insist that as it will be continued there is no reason why we should not share in the profit. Curious Christians we are indeed!"—Many years earlier Queen Victoria's first Prime Minister, the worldly Lord Melbourne, had been goaded into an impatient outbreak: "Things have come to a pretty pass when religion is allowed to invade the sphere of private life." Dormer Creston, *The Youthful Queen Victoria* (New York: Putnam, 1952), p. 300.

In his annual report of 1882, the President paid full tribute to the services of Dr. Frieze during his absence and was happy in the developments which continued to justify certain steps taken by the University during Frieze's first acting presidency. In particular, during the intervening decade co-education had further proved itself a wise policy. In 1881-1882 more than 12 per cent of the enrollment had been of women, one hundred eighty-four in all. There had been women students in every department. Those who had been graduated had usefully served the world not only as homemakers but in many fields from that of medical missionary to that of schoolteacher. "No less than six members of the present faculty of Wellesley College, including the president, are graduates of this University," he wrote. We hear no more about the problem of co-education. The "sick ideas" which Frieze admitted he had once entertained on the subject had long since been cured by experience. The women students were here, the predicted evils had not materialized, and the entire situation was accepted as unquestioningly as daylight.

Another of the University's earlier innovations had kept on working well. The recognition in practical fashion of the unity of the entire state system of education from the primary grades to the University was embodied in the so-called "diploma system," by which graduates of accredited high schools were admitted to the University, under certain protective regulations, without the formality of entrance examinations. In succeeding years these regulations required that the applicant had maintained a standing in the upper third of his high-school class and could present a letter of recommendation from his high-school principal, and the entrance requirements have been strengthened again and again by one device or another.

From this period there survive many letters on the subject: there was more correspondence with the educational authorities of other universities and states about the system's workings, more and more requests from school boards to have their schools examined, and letters, favorable and unfavorable, communicating the results of the inspections. Many an elderly man or woman can vividly recall the interest created among pupils and teachers (for differing reasons) when the great man from the University appeared on the high-school scene. No less vivid in memory are the preenings by the local papers when word came of approval, or the disappointment over an unfavorable verdict. Reduction of the period for which accrediting was vouchsafed was almost as hard a blow to local pride as outright refusal. In either of such latter



cases the editor's analysis of the reasons why the sceptre was not extended was often somewhat less than candid.

One superintendent of schools wrote: "I feel that the committee's . . . visits have always had a healthful influence on the work of our schools, and have kept our connection with the University fresh in the minds of both pupils and patrons." The President himself was for twenty-five years the chairman of the committee on the accrediting of high schools. If he had to communicate an unfavorable decision—and the committee on accredited schools was much more stern than Angell's father-in-law had been with the "feeble cony folk"<sup>4</sup>—he softened the blow as much as he could with encouragement for the future. Thus he wrote the head of a school board in a thriving Michigan town: "I regret to say that after consideration of the report of our Committee and of all that they have been able to learn about \_\_\_\_\_ High School, the Faculty do not feel prepared yet to establish the 'diploma relation' between the School and the University. They hope that at no distant day such change may be effected in the School as will enable them to form a connection with it.

"But at present it seems to be in a languid condition. It lacks enthusiasm, energy and life. We are aware of the difficulties of administration under which it has labored. But we think pretty important changes are needed to bring it to the position of numerous schools in cities of the size of \_\_\_\_\_. As we hear that the School is to be in other hands henceforth, we believe that a proper public interest in it will secure a marked improvement. We trust that this communication, which we are sorry to send, will be received in the frank and friendly spirit which dictates it."<sup>5</sup>

The School of Political Science, initiated during the year in which Charles Kendall Adams was Dean, had made a good beginning in a field of increasing interest. As originally set up the School had a faculty of seven, listed thus:

International Law, Political Economy, History of Diplomacy, President James B. Angell. (Dr. Henry Carter Adams substituted for Angell during the latter's absence in China.)

Constitutional Law and Administrative Law, Professor Thomas M. Cooley.

Political and Constitutional History, Professor Charles K. Adams and Assistant Professor Richard Hudson.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> For a less favorable opinion of the "Diploma System" see Smith, *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*, pp. 25-26.

Social Science, Professor Edward S. Dunster.

Sanitary Science, Assistant Professor Victor C. Vaughan.

Science of Forestry, Assistant Professor Volney M. Spalding.

During the first year nineteen separate courses had been given with a total of 481 registrations in the first semester and 408 in the second. Obviously, many persons had registered in several courses. Judge Cooley gave a course which induces the wish that he were alive to repeat it under today's conditions: Rights, including Natural Rights, Civil Rights, Rights both Civil and Political, Political Rights, Rights of Denizens—with a companion course by him on Duties and Responsibilities.

But after so brave and promising a beginning, by 1888–1889 the School of Political Science had quietly disappeared from the *Calendar*.<sup>6</sup> This early and surprising demise was due in part to the resignation in 1885 of Professor C. K. Adams to become President of Cornell. Adams was succeeded somewhat unwillingly by Judge Cooley. A deep-seated reason for the School's early withering probably lay in the anomaly of its organization as a school with a dean of its own within the framework of the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts. This produced numerous conflicts and misunderstandings and various exhibitions of human nature in its less endearing forms.

Closely wrapped up, in its origin, with the School of Political Science, and to survive it by a considerable term of years, was the so-called "University System" of study. As soon as the School was in operation in 1881–1882 and was pointing the way to a freedom of study, permitting greater concentration with greater concessions to the student's choice both of subjects and methods, it was argued by various faculty members that subjects other than political science should also be accorded these advantages. There was the feeling—nowhere does it seem to have been very clearly understood or even outlined—that this new plan was an approach to the German universities' distinction between preparatory and graduate or genuine university work. The *Encyclopedic Survey* says that if at the end of four years the "examination [of the student on the University System] were satisfactory, he would be granted the degree of bachelor of arts. If the student were able to write a *brilliant* [italics supplied] examination and to present a meritorious thesis, he might be granted the degree of master of arts." The difficulties in deciding between a "satisfactory" and a "brilliant" examination are illustrative of the troubles that were bred.

<sup>6</sup> Burke A. Hinsdale, *History of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Publ. by the University, 1906), p. 85.





Mrs. Angell's Browning Club

Left to right: Mrs. W. H. Pettee, Mrs. G. S. Morris, Mrs. I. N. Demmon, Mrs. J. B. Angell, Miss Louise Pond, Mrs. F. R. Waldron, Mrs. H. B. Hutchins, Mrs. M. L. D'Ooge, Mrs. E. Jones, Mrs. W. P. Lombard, Mrs. P. R. de Pont, Mrs. A. B. Palmer



The President at his desk in University Hall



Yet after a tentative year in 1882–1883, the Regents appropriated \$100 in March, 1883, for “printing announcements of the University System and Post-graduate work in the Department of Literature, Science and the Arts.” In the following year eighteen students were enrolled and eleven were graduated. Four years later these numbers were respectively sixteen and thirteen, but by 1890–1891 they had shrunk to three and three. The system was still alive, though without vigor, until shortly after 1900, when it was abolished. A number of distinguished alumni studied and were graduated under it, but there is little reason to believe they would not have become as promptly and equally distinguished by the alternate elective system. Meanwhile, for twenty years the President listened to much discussion.

It is interesting to note that the item immediately succeeding the appropriation for the University System in the Regents' *Proceedings* is another which resulted in benefits to the University that still endure. This was the appointment of Henry Carter Adams as a part-time lecturer in political economy. When, in 1886, on the insistence of one of the trustees of Cornell, Adams was dismissed<sup>7</sup> from his complementary part-time position there because of his too liberal views (in the opinion of the trustee) on the relations of capital and labor, President Angell and the Regents did not hesitate to appoint him to the professorship of political economy at Michigan, which he adorned until his death in 1921.

William Harold Payne, who in 1879 became the first incumbent of the first university chair ever to be established in the “science and the art of teaching,” continued to justify the experiment until 1888, when he resigned to become chancellor of the University of Nashville. His successor, the encyclopedic-minded Burke A. Hinsdale, came to the campus in 1888. But not until legislative action was taken in 1891 were the graduates from these courses given life certificates permitting them to teach in the schools of the state.

Five thousand copies of an illustrated booklet, *Organization and History of the University of Michigan*, were prepared as an exhibit for the New Orleans Exposition and for general circulation later “as an advertisement of the University.”

In the first two months of 1883 Michigan politics were in a disturbed state over the efforts of the legislature, in joint sessions, to elect a successor to Senator Thomas W. Ferry. Senator Ferry was a candidate for re-election to a third term, but met with determined and at last successful

<sup>7</sup> Marvin B. Rosenberry, “Henry Carter Adams,” *Michigan and the Cleveland Era* (Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press, 1948), p. 27.

opposition. In the interplay of forces many names appeared as possibilities. On February 2, on a single ballot the House members alone spread their votes over a list of twenty-three names. Angell was disturbed by the possibilities rather than by any probability that he might ultimately become a "dark horse" choice. He asked Judge Cooley's advice as to withdrawal of his name from any consideration, and the advice given was to let the matter take its course. The event proved what small danger there was of disturbing his academic career. In the opinion of one Republican friend in the legislature whatever chance his admirers had of sending him to the United States Senate went by the board when on the sixty-third ballot a Democratic member started voting for him. Further, his known views adverse to high tariff rates won little favor among the Republican majority. Except on a single ballot the vote of the persistent Democratic Representative Black was the only one he received. Once only were there two votes for him out of the possible total of 132. On the eighty-first ballot Thomas W. Palmer of the University of Michigan Class of 1849 received a clear majority and was declared elected. Later, he served as United States Minister to Spain. On the campus the women's athletic field preserves his name.

There were rumors now and then, growing doubtless out of echoes of the Rose-Douglas strife, that Angell might not be unwilling to accept another presidency. One had to do with the University of California, where it was assumed by Californians that Mr. Swift, his erstwhile colleague in China, a University regent, might oppose his selection. No situation arose to demonstrate the truth or falsity of this assumption. His long-time friend, Professor J. O. Murray of Princeton wrote him with an element of humor: "I was asked by a D.D. trustee the other day whether you would consent to be made a Pres[byterian] minister if elected to the College Presidency. I said I could not speak for you but as you were at the head of a University quite as conspicuous as Princeton & had very high views of the Sacred office, I was doubtful whether you would consent to be ordained for the sake of succeeding McCosh." No one who knew him could believe that after the great controversy of the 1870's subsided he ever thought seriously of leaving permanently the campus at Ann Arbor.

If there were a number of suggestions of new fields for his own endeavors, there was a steady stream of requests for advice relating to the choice of presidents of institutions seeking new heads. Of all these, it is certain that none ever gave him lasting satisfaction equaling that which grew out of his part in the selection in the 1870's of Daniel Coit Gilman to



lay the foundations of the new Johns Hopkins University and to build on these the splendid superstructure. Angell, Charles W. Eliot, and Andrew D. White lent powerful impetus to this choice. To quote Angell's address at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of Johns Hopkins: "At least three college Presidents were invited by the Trustees to confer with them when they were maturing their plans for the organization of the university. I had the honor to be one of them, and my experience, I suppose, was like that of the others. I was shut up in a room with these Trustees and a stenographer and what few ideas I had in those early days were squeezed out of me remorselessly, and, I suppose President Eliot and President White went through the same process. After these gentlemen had conferred with us here, several of them, about half a dozen, among whom was my distinguished friend, Mr. [Francis] White, whom I have had the pleasure of seeing here to-night, one of the Trustees, visited various universities, and, among others, the University of Michigan. After giving me the pleasure of dining with me one evening, in company with the late Dr. Frieze, the great Latin scholar, who was better versed in university problems than almost any man of his time, we sat up until midnight, and discoursed upon the future of the Johns Hopkins University. The only idea, and I say it not in the way of boasting, and not because I have any reason to suppose that it had any effect upon the minds of those gentlemen, but the only idea that Doctor Frieze and I labored to impress upon them, according to the best of our ability, was that, in our judgment, the thing to do was not to go and erect another college like the four hundred already existing in this land, but to strike out boldly at once, and make a great graduate university. Whether we made any impression upon them, or not, I do not know.

"After they came home, they did me the honor to write me a letter, and, as I was afterwards informed, they wrote a similar letter to President Eliot and to President White, asking whom we would suggest for the office of President. And now I have this remarkable statement to make to you; that, without the least conference between us three, we all wrote letters, telling them that the one man was Daniel C. Gilman, of California. That is one of the few acts of my life which I have never regretted.<sup>8</sup> . . .

<sup>8</sup> "Among Gilman's papers was found, after his death, a pledge taken from the 'Monologen' of Schleiermacher and printed in Hagenbach's 'History of the Church': 'I will keep my spirits without flagging to the end of my days. The fresh courage of life shall never forsake me. What gladdens me now shall gladden me always. My will shall continue firm and my imagination vivid. Nothing shall snatch from me the

"I could not conceal my joy, in the early days of the institution, at the self-restraint which led the President and the Trustees to content themselves with these modest homes in which the University was housed, scarcely to be distinguished from the business houses upon the streets around them, while they went scouring the world for the best men that could be found on the two continents to bring here."

It was soon after his return from China that he led the Regents to participation in the maintenance of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, still continuing.

Ann Arbor business men at that time were protesting the University's purchase of its coal outside the city and the hauling of it from the railroad to the campus by University owned teams, while the Ann Arbor Railroad management complained that the University Treasurer, Major Harrison Soule, had been instrumental in diverting passenger traffic from its line. The Auditor General of the state had his own official grievance and urged the President to compel those making up the financial reports to do so in compliance with the law as the auditor conceived it to be. A letter the President wrote to a Saginaw minister in 1886 is illustrative of other irritations, at various localities in the state, with which he had to deal:

"Your request for the arguments in favor of the University of Michigan strikes me very much as would my inquiry of you for the arguments for continuing the Presbyterian Church at Saginaw or for maintaining the bridge across your river. They are both here, are a part of the history of things, and in those facts have a sufficient justification to continue.

"But beyond this, I may say hastily,

"1. The U. States gave a grant of land for the purpose of founding the Univ<sup>y</sup>.

"2. The State accepted it & so pledged itself to found & maintain a Univ<sup>y</sup>.

"3. At least two generations of college bred men were thus saved to the State. When it was too poor to found colleges through private donations, it was enabled without burden to establish a good Univ<sup>y</sup>.

"4. It was able to make a much more amply equipped Univ<sup>y</sup>. than could have been obtained even at this time by private generosity.

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magic key which opens to me those doors of the invisible world which are filled with mystery, and the fire of love in my heart shall never grow dim. I shall never experience the dreaded weakness of old age. I will treat with noble disdain every adversity which assails the aim of my existence, and I promise myself eternal youth.'"

Charles F. Thwing, *Guides, Philosophers and Friends* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), p. 82.



"5. Having thus secured and fostered it, obviously it is its plain duty to continue it.

"6. It has doubtless received back far more than all it has given (a) by the increased intelligence of its own children educated here, (b) by the settling here of able men brought in from other states by the Univ., (c) by the immense help which the Univ. has rendered to the public schools of the State through its graduates.

"7. It is the logical & legitimate crowning of the public school system of the State. Any argument which will justify the public High School will justify the Univ.

"8. It is impossible for any other Institution even with enormous expense to furnish as good advantages for many long years and so it is an economy to the State to nourish this."

And all the letters involved in these activities the President wrote by hand—his own hand—without benefit of a stenographer.<sup>9</sup>

And as if University affairs were not enough, in 1884 he and Judge Cooley as private citizens paid \$100 to redress the wrong done to a number of farmers whose sheep had been killed by the presidential and judicial dogs.

There were several gifts to the University which pleased the President, partly for themselves and partly as a presage for years to come. These included the Christian Buhl gift, which slightly more than doubled the number of volumes in the Law Library, and the Shakespeare Collection presented by Senator James McMillan, and named for him. We have already mentioned the Chinese government's gift of its exhibit at the New Orleans Exposition. And in another field there were the Lewis Collection<sup>10</sup> of paintings and sculptures and the Randolph Rogers Collection. As a graceful gesture the Regents voted in March, 1887, that

<sup>9</sup> The first copy of a typed letter in the President's office files is addressed to President Eliot, of Harvard, under date of April 28, 1894. The *Ann Arbor Courier* on January 29, 1890, observed: "Is there another college president in the country caring for a great university, without the aid of a secretary or assistant? If so, who is he?"

<sup>10</sup> "The Lewis Collection, with the changing standards of values, is today not so highly regarded as it was then; nevertheless, the interest that led this resident of a small Michigan city to make his collection, and then to present it to the University, is genuinely significant. The distinguished American sculptor Randolph Rogers, whose life, following younger years in Ann Arbor, had largely been spent in Italy, presented a complete collection of the models and casts of his works, totaling more than seventy. The state legislature was so impressed by this gift that it promptly made an appropriation of \$2,500 for the expense of bringing the collection to Ann Arbor—and in the 1880's in Michigan \$2,500 was a great deal of money for art." Smith, *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*, p. 52.

the privileges of the University "be extended to John Randolph Rogers, son of the eminent sculptor Randolph Rogers, as a testimonial of the estimation in which the generous donor of the valued Rogers Collection is held by the Board of Regents." John Randolph Rogers was graduated as Bachelor of Science in 1890 and as Doctor of Medicine in 1895.

In 1884 the President was able to keep for the faculty a man he greatly wanted, when the United States Navy detailed Mortimer E. Cooley for a second three years as Professor of Mechanical Engineering. After that Cooley was a fixture. But in 1887 he lost another man he wanted to retain, when President Charles K. Adams took Harry B. Hutchins to Ithaca to establish the Cornell Law School. Angell wrote Adams after two interviews with Hutchins: "After hearing his statements I was constrained to say to him that unless he wanted to practice in Michigan and could get consent of our Regents for him to live in Detroit, I could not dissuade him from going to Ithaca on the terms named. Whether your Board decided to invite him I do not yet know. Our Law School was never before doing so good work."

Among men to give long and distinguished service to the University whose first appointments came in the years 1885-1887 were Andrew C. McLaughlin, Frederick G. Novy, Thomas C. Trueblood, G. Carl Huber, and Filibert Roth. The last named formed his first connection with the University as janitor of the Museum, which employment provided him with financial support until he was graduated as Bachelor of Science in 1890. John Dewey came in 1884, but remained at Michigan for only ten years.

Toward the close of this period a long letter was received from Professor Woodrow Wilson, of Bryn Mawr, then thirty-one years old. This communication is couched in most respectfully modest terms, yet throughout it exudes the self-confident determination which was to characterize the entire life of its writer. For his future work as a student and teacher of government, Wilson felt he needed experience on the *inside* of government, where he could observe causes and not merely watch effects as would be the case if he sought and obtained a civil service post. So, while he asks Angell only for "advice," he makes it perfectly clear that his real desire is that Angell should be the "influential person" to ask Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, to appoint the young professor to the "now vacant post of Assistant Secretary."

What Angell wrote in reply—before the days of copykeeping—is not available, but its tactful clearness can be surmised from Wilson's acknowledgment: "I am sincerely obliged to you for your very kind letter



of yesterday. You have honored me by thoroughly believing in my sincerity.

"I of course thought that the duties of the Asst.-Secretaryship were such as one with a pretty thorough *outside* acquaintance with the public-business might, with diligence, master: for I can of course pretend to no personal experience in affairs, much less to any acquaintance with the formal etiquette of the diplomatic service. I have already confessed that I wanted the office *in order to learn*, my only readiness being a trained understanding relative to such matters. Certainly, under the circumstances, the place ought to be filled from within the Department, by somebody drilled in its service. I must thank you very heartily for setting me right." But the rest of his letter indicates that, as in all the conditions of his later life, he intended never to be turned aside from any formulated purpose.

In the summer of 1886 the President and Mrs. Angell spent some weeks in England. The *Ann Arbor Courier*, which since the death of Mr. Rice Beal in 1883 had been in the charge of his son, Junius E., and which had become much more friendly, suggested that Angell was going over to offer an honorary degree to William E. Gladstone. Junius E. Beal was to go on to a long life of devoted service to the University from which he had graduated in 1882.<sup>11</sup> The European relaxation was welcome to Angell. For in addition to all the variety of matters demanding his attention, the financial problems that were the subject of Mrs. Angell's confidence to Mrs. Cooley, alluded to at the beginning of this chapter, had never ceased to press upon his shoulders. Each annual (June) meeting of the Board had its anxious reports by the Finance Committee of the Regents, while the annual reports of the President presented at the October meeting gave much attention to the ever-present question of how money might be saved and how what was absolutely necessary could be come by.

No meeting went by without appeals for a salary increase or for the allowance of some pathetically small sum to meet a pressing need for books or equipment. The buildings deteriorated. There were demands for instruction in entirely new subjects. When enrollments increased, there followed the need for additional personnel to teach, and when enrollment decreased the calamity involved in the falling off in student fees was made worse because of the cost of new faculty members to care for the professional courses, which had lengthened from six to nine

<sup>11</sup> For a sketch of Junius E. Beal see Smith, *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*, p. 122.

months. Increases in fees, as a remedy, seemed always to result in temporarily decreased enrollment, and, moreover, enrollments clearly responded unfavorably to conditions of poor business in the nation.

Even though the general drift of attendance through the years was upward, there were times in this period when the decrease in student fees posed a most serious problem. In the year ending June 30, 1882, the fees of 1,534 students totaled \$85,979.10. These totals were not reached again until 1889. In the meantime, in 1884, this source of income, from 1,377 students, dropped to \$56,628.42, and in 1887, with 1,572 students, to \$47,046.21. Some confusion from year to year resulted from the fact that in those days the institution's annual fiscal period closed on September 30, and this date not infrequently occurred at the time when students were registering and when many of those who would be present during the year had not yet paid their fees. Sometimes a major fraction of the year's fees were in hand on the day the books closed—sometimes the reverse was the case. There can be no doubt, however, that the increase of fees charged nonresidents tended to reduce at least temporarily the number in attendance from other states, while the number from Michigan, at smaller fees, increased. The rapid development of neighboring state universities, mostly charging lower fees, was also having its effect on Michigan's enrollment of students from those states. In summary, there was much financial anxiety on the Michigan campus through the period of the 1880's. In almost every year bank loans were required to enable the institution to pay its bills, and these loans only postponed troubles instead of avoiding them. In the year 1882-1883 a total of \$16,000 was borrowed; repayments reached only \$12,000.

In the legislative session of 1885 the need of repairs to the University's buildings was covered by appropriations of \$16,000 for each year of the biennium, with various other smaller appropriations for special purposes. These latter included \$2,000 for a clock, to operate in connection with the peal of five bells presented to the University in 1883 by James J. Hagerman, Edward C. Hegeler, and Andrew D. White. This installation in a tower of the admired new General Library Building began to tell the time and sound the hours—including quarters and halves—on January 27, 1886. The sonorous peals every fifteen minutes marking time past and promising perhaps a better time to come, in some psychological way may have helped to assuage the disappointment over the failure of the legislature of 1885 to double the University's income from the mill tax by increasing the rate from one-twentieth to one-tenth of a mill. The bill which would have brought this succor passed the



Senate, but failed by a few votes in the House, where doubtless honest-minded but ill-informed opponents thought the University could get its needed increase through still higher fees for non-Michigan students.

A single sentence in the *President's Report* of October, 1885, throws a flood of light on conditions in the University community, when he wrote: The scale of salaries "should as soon as possible be made what it was in 1878"! In that year the Regents had been faced with the legislature's resolution: "That the Board of Regents and the State Board of Education be and are hereby requested to reduce all salaries of professors, teachers, and employees in the several institutions under their control, as follows: All salaries over \$1,500 to \$2,000 inclusive, 10 per cent, and all salaries over \$2,000, 20 per cent."

In view of the irritated state of the public mind during the Rose-Douglas battle, the Regents felt this resolution could not be disregarded, and they adopted a salary list that while not quite so drastic as the resolution contemplated was severe enough to create much unhappiness. The President's salary was reduced from \$4,500 to \$3,750, with house, light, and fuel still included. Efforts were made by a minority of the Board to fix his salary at \$4,000 or \$3,900, but these were unsuccessful against the solid front of the four pro-Rose Regents. To soften the blow somewhat for him Regent Cutcheon presented a resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the reduction of the salary of President Angell in an apparently larger relative proportion than that of the other Professors and officers in the institution, is founded upon the principle announced in the resolution of the Legislature of the State, that the larger salaries should be reduced more largely than the smaller ones, and we desire in this connection to express our high appreciation of the valuable services, efficient administration, and earnest devotion to the University of President Angell." This resolution passed by a unanimous vote.

In the nine years succeeding, even with the new and friendly Board, there was no change in compensation. Then in 1887 the President's salary was fixed at \$5,000. The money for this was "found" somewhere! The increase in the annual proceeds of the mill tax by about \$6,700 doubtless helped; this came about through an increase in the equalized value of property in the state, which served as the base to which the one-twentieth of a mill was applied; and an enlarged income from student fees was also anticipated.

In the long interim the President's annual reports and his contacts with students, colleagues, officials, political and academic, and the people of his state had continued their underlying tone of undismayed optimism.

# *The Semicentennial*

## *Celebration of 1887*

### CHAPTER XXII

*How old is the University?* is a question that asks itself early in any account of its semicentennial. In the lifetime of James B. Angell the University of Michigan marked three important anniversaries with "celebrations." Two of these, the "Semicentennial" of 1887 and the "Seventy-Fifth Anniversary" of 1912, in later years had to be regarded as technically misplaced in point of years elapsed. This anomaly is due to the final acceptance by the University in the spring of 1929 of the "Catholepistemiad" or "University of Michigania" in Detroit, as integrally a part of the institution's existence. This action pushed the founding date back to 1817 instead of the previously accepted year of 1837 when Michigan was admitted as a state. This change was made merely by substituting on the University seal the year 1817 for 1837. The action was taken only after much prodding by one group of alumni, supported by Supreme Court action, much resistance by others, and much discussion within the Board of Regents. In the final vote one Regent was opposed. In the twenty-five years that have gone by since the University was suddenly made twenty years older, the 1817 date has been accepted with a calmness lacking at times in the final half-decade of the 1920's.

But when in 1937 the greatest of all the institution's celebrations was held, it was designated "The First Hundred Years in Ann Arbor" to avoid fanning into flame any smoldering embers of partisanship among the supporters or opponents of the acceptance of the old Catholepistemiad. There were features, however, of that early pathetically small enterprise, which nobody could want to forget or disown, since they forecast the spirit of tolerance and liberality that has ever since been the University's ideal.



On a day in 1817 when Michigan was a territory of about five thousand people and James Monroe had just become President of the United States, a curiously assorted little group got together in Detroit. There was a federal judge from Virginia, Augustus B. Woodward, a devotee of amazingly derived words; another was a Connecticut Yankee businessman, William Woodbridge, Secretary of the Territory. The third was a Scotch Presbyterian minister from Pennsylvania by way of Princeton University, the Reverend John Monteith. Last but not least was a French Catholic priest, Father Gabriel Richard, by achievement a devoted scholar and by nature a lover of mankind whose hard experiences during the French Revolution had not embittered him but had developed in him the beauty of tolerance. He had been exiled to Canada for his refusal to accept British domination following the surrender of Detroit by General Hull in the War of 1812. After American rule was restored and he had returned, he was elected a territorial delegate to Congress, said to be the only Catholic priest ever to serve in that body. His death in 1832 was brought about by his exposure to cholera in the epidemic of that time, when he cared for the sick in disregard of his own safety, acting thus in harmony with the principles that had guided his entire life. Of these four, three were friends of higher education because they had been privileged to experience it. One, the Yankee, valued it because of his lack of it. They co-operated to initiate the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania (the names are Woodward's), and the two clerics filled, between them, the thirteen original professorships which Judge Woodward named *didaxiim*. If ever discord rose within that faculty, no hint of it is recorded, even in private letters preserved from those days. Of this genesis, in an age of sectarianism and intolerance, the University of Michigan is very proud.

The other anniversary celebration during Angell's lifetime was that for the President of the University himself, when in 1896 his quarter-centennial was marked. There was no doubt about the date his administration had begun.

Nor in 1887 were there any disturbing doubts that the year actually marked the University's first half-century, even though, particularly in Angell's own commemorative oration, there were romantic allusions to the slender organization of the earlier day. Plans had been initiated two years in advance, when the Senate (perhaps with too many prepositions) requested the Regents to "consider the propriety of making provision for an appropriate celebration of the approaching semi-centennial anniversary of the organization of the University." The Regents asked for

details of such plans as the Senate had in mind. Nine months later, at the March meeting of 1886, the Senate plans, fully worked out, were presented and approved, including a \$600 allowance for a commemorative volume. This was the first such publication in the University's history.

The celebration absorbed the Commencement exercises, covering the last five days of June. The weather was perfect. With the exception of Justice Miller's history of the Supreme Court, the events and speeches were animated by a desire to make the University's history stand out clearly before all the world (perhaps more especially before the people of Michigan who were too inclined to be engrossed in their own immediate businesses) and to develop particularly in the people of Michigan a pride out of which would grow new resolution to foster their University in the future. The subjects assigned to the carefully selected speakers sought to be representative of the interests of many groups.

On Sunday Professor Frieze emphasized the Christian though non-sectarian character of the campus life. Monday and Tuesday were given over to class-day exercises of the several departments and to the meetings and social affairs of the various departmental alumni associations. On Monday evening the students, with directing help from the treasurer, Major Soule of G.A.R. prominence, staged a torchlight parade that won golden opinions from the less intellectually inclined—and no serious criticisms even from the elect. On Wednesday the more "solid" (save for Dr. Frieze) orators began to make their contributions. But that night Judge Cooley wrote in his diary: "The Jubilee exercises so far I am sorry to say have in general been disappointing. The only good addresses have been Blair's and Sill's, & those were delivered to a thin house."

Principal Sill, head of the neighboring Normal School in Ypsilanti, late of the Board of Regents and in the future to become Minister to Korea, spoke for the Michigan State Teachers' Association. As a professional teacher he dwelt particularly on the service of the University to the public schools and to their personnel, on the rostrum and at the pupils' desks. He emphasized that the period immediately following adoption of the Constitution of 1850 was the time when the schools really became "public" by abolition of the so-called rate bills, which had barred so many less well-to-do pupils. Closely coincident was the coming of President Tappan with his courageous, far-flung plans for making the University the head of a system of state education truly new in America.

Regent and former Governor Blair, who also spoke to "the thin



audience" on the morning of Wednesday along with Principal Sill, had always, in office and out, been a stalwart friend of the University. He rejoiced that "we welcome here the earnest students of every State and country as our own students are welcomed in all the famous universities of the land. The republic of letters has no boundaries, but its map covers the world." And of the dangers threatening the country: "The scholars can deal with them while the legislators are powerless. The uses of the 'Be it enacted' to effect reforms in the world are greatly overestimated. The history of the world proves that the steady advancement of civilization and liberty is to be attributed almost wholly to the great teachers, scholars, and writers. The law can accomplish nothing until the people have been made ready for it."

The much larger audience of the afternoon heard a long address by Justice Miller of the United States Supreme Court. Another, an after-dinner, speech by the Justice, Judge Cooley pronounced "tolerably good, —but it excited no enthusiasm." It might have been expected that Cooley would have had a high opinion of the Justice's afternoon address, but he did not mention it at all. And certainly an address of nearly two hours in length on the history of the Supreme Court could not be expected on a warm afternoon to "excite enthusiasm" in a general audience.

There were other addresses by a phalanx of notables, and as the week concluded Judge Cooley's spirits as he surveyed the scene were much higher. The congratulatory addresses on Commencement Day, named for once, "Commemoration Day," by Professor Goodale of Harvard, Professor Murray of Princeton, and President Northrop of Minnesota were especially pleasing to him—as they are to a modern who reads them today. There were so many messages from the universities of foreign lands that not all of them could be read. The Choral Union<sup>1</sup> presented "Elijah" on Wednesday night, and the Glee Club and the "Amphion Club" also sang, while the "Chequamegon Orchestra," well remembered of Ann Arbor old-timers, played at the Commencement exercises. There were over 800 delegates and other registrants, though that steadfast friend of the University, Andrew D. White, was absent because of the death of his wife.<sup>2</sup> And the University fully lived up to President Angell's

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Angell sang among the sopranos.

<sup>2</sup> The unique affection which Andrew D. White cherished for the University of Michigan throughout his life appears in his letter to Angell of June 21, 1887: "Hoping against hope, I have delayed a final answer to your kind invitation as well as to that of Mrs. Angell, but it is now evident that I cannot go.

"Could my dear wife have been left to me a little while longer, I can think of no visit wh. we should both have so thoroughly enjoyed.

announcement: "It is customary for universities, both in the Old World and in the New, on occasions like this to confer honorary degrees on a considerable number of distinguished men." Under authority no less than nineteen new doctors of philosophy and of laws were thus created on the spot. These exercises were followed by a dinner, with responses.

But the high point of the entire week was the President's Commemorative Address in the forenoon of Commemoration Day. Certainly, he thought well of it himself for near the end of his days he chose it as the third among his *Selected Addresses*. Judge Cooley could find no term for it but "magnificent" and recorded that it was "fittingly received." It deserves inclusion in its entirety in this record of the celebration that the reader of today may know Angell's style at its best and may decide for himself whether, as a conclusion to the events of the week, it was a fitting expression of pride in the University's past and of confidence in its future. (And like all his speeches it was delivered without notes):

"We celebrate to-day the jubilee of this University. Her years are indeed few when compared with those of Heidelberg University, which last year kept her five hundredth anniversary, or with those of the University of Edinburgh, which recently observed her tercentenary, or even with those of Harvard University, which last autumn gathered an illustrious assembly to celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth year of her prosperous life.<sup>3</sup> But in this country, where we judge men by their achievements rather than by their lineage, we properly judge of institutions by their deeds rather than by their age. When we consider what we must, in all soberness of language, call the extraordinary development of this University, especially during the last thirty-five years; when we remember that men are living who have shot wild deer upon the grounds which now form our Campus; when we see that from the number of her students and from the extent, variety, and excellence of her work, she is deemed by the public not unworthy a place by the side of the oldest and best endowed universities of our country, and that she has sent out more than eight thousand graduates who are adorning all

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"Meeting our dear old friends would have been a great pleasure and to stay in your house—in our own old corner of the grounds—would have completed the bridge over the thirty years.

"Your house, indeed, is very dear to me. I recall—as if it were yesterday—our pleasant dinner in the little back parlor—which cheered us both by showing how attractive a home could be made—in what was then 'The West.' . . .

"If I am in the country in October—I shall do my best to get a day or two for the dear old University—for a quiet walk about its grounds to recall the day when my wife & myself first saw it together."

<sup>3</sup> Angell and Cooley were Michigan delegates.



honorable vocations in all parts of the world,—we may well pause for a day even at this early stage in her history to rejoice at the unparalleled rapidity of her growth, to acknowledge our grateful appreciation of the men who laid her foundations with prescient wisdom, and of the equally wise men who builded thereon in the broad spirit of the founders, and to stimulate our hearts with fresh hope and courage for the future. The vigorous and virile life of the West, which within the memory of many now before me has reared immense cities on the prairies and has builded States that are empires all the way from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, has also poured its currents through the veins of this school of learning, and has hurried it in a few brief years to the development which the strongest of the New England universities took two centuries and more to reach.

“We might in a very just sense celebrate this year the centennial of the life of the University. For the germ of that life and of the life of all the state universities in the West is found in that great instrument, the Ordinance of 1787, which was adopted just a hundred years ago the thirteenth of next month. You remember that memorable article, whose first sentence we have placed here upon our walls, a sentence which should be engraved in letters of gold on fitting monuments in every State that was carved out of the Northwest Territory: ‘Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.’

“Within a fortnight after the adoption of the Ordinance, Congress acted up to the spirit of the imperative *shall* in that instrument by making appropriations of lands for a university and schools in Ohio, the first of the long series of appropriations of lands by the General Government for educational purposes. The precedent then established has been uniformly followed in the admission of new States. Well, therefore, might not only this University, but all the public schools and the state universities in the Northwest, join in grateful observance of the hundredth anniversary of the Great Charter of freedom and intelligence for this region. Well might they together commemorate the centennial of the inauguration of that fruitful policy, which has endowed institutions of learning, from the lowest to the highest, by the gift of public lands.

“It was in strict accordance with the spirit of the great Ordinance that Congress took action, March 26, 1804, reserving for a seminary of learning a township in each of the three divisions of the Territory of Indiana, one of which became in 1805 the Territory of Michigan and so received



the grant. And on this day when we gladly recall the names of our benefactors, let us not forget to acknowledge that our endowments were materially enlarged by the generosity of the aboriginal inhabitants of this region. By the Treaty of Fort Meigs, negotiated in 1817, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies granted six sections of land to be divided between the Church of St. Anne, in Detroit, and the College of Detroit. This College of Detroit, which was the lineal ancestor of the University, was not established until a month after the treaty.<sup>4</sup> When steps were taken in 1824 to select the lands ceded by the Indians, such difficulties were encountered in complying with the conditions of the act of 1804 that Congress in 1826 made the location of lands practicable and authorized the selection of a quantity equal in amount to twice the original grant. The entire endowment of lands thus became equal to two townships and three sections. There is something pathetic in this gift of the Indians, who were even then so rapidly fading away. They doubtless hoped that some of their descendants might attain to the knowledge which the white man learned in his schools and which gave him such wonderful power and skill. Their hope has never been realized, so far as I know, by the education of any full-blooded Indian at the University. We cannot rival Harvard which has on her roll of graduates the unpronounceable name of one of the aborigines. But we should never forget the generous impulses of the men of the forest who gave of what was dearest to them an amount surpassing in ultimate value the gifts for which the names of Nicholas Brown and Elihu Yale and John Harvard were bestowed on colleges in New England.<sup>5</sup> We may perhaps be grate-

<sup>4</sup> An error. The date was August 26 preceding. There is an excuse for the error in a memo by Judge Woodward on the back of his original draft—the memo being simply “Nov. 17, 1817.”

<sup>5</sup> President Angell did not live to see the recognition of the Red man's benefaction to which he referred, but at the meeting of the Regents on May 27, 1932, the following resolution was adopted: “Resolved, That in response to the formal request of the Secretary of the Interior, and in recognition of the fact that by the Treaty of Fort Meigs, September 29, 1817, the Indian tribes of this vicinity deeded to the ‘College of Detroit,’ founded August 26, 1817, of which the University of Michigan is the successor, three sections of land, which was the first benefaction made to this institution, the Regents of the University of Michigan hereby establish five scholarships, consisting of the remission of the annual fees, for the benefit of American Indian students who shall be recommended for appointment to such scholarships by the Secretary of the Interior, or such representative as he may designate. It is understood that candidates will be recommended on the basis of worthiness, need, and ability, and that they shall be qualified to enter the University of Michigan. These scholarships shall be open to American Indians of either sex and shall apply in any division of the University. Appointees shall be eligible to reappointment on recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior or his designated



ful also that in their modesty they did not ask that their names should be given to their beneficiary.

"It has been said, and doubtless with truth, that the Congresses which adopted the Ordinance and made the earlier gifts of lands for educational purposes did not at all appreciate how great were to be the beneficent results of their action. How was it possible that they should? For achievement has in this Western country outrun the prophecy of the most sanguine seer. The wildest dreams of the future development of this region which were cherished by the most enthusiastic settlers of Ohio a hundred years ago seem tame and prosaic by the side of the romantic facts of the history itself as we read it to-day. How could they have imagined that by this time there should be in the Northwest Territory, a large part of which was then an untrodden wilderness, a population four times as great as that of the whole United States in their day, and that over the whole of it schools, academies, and colleges should be sown multitudinous as the stars of heaven. If they builded better than they knew, there was in the scope of their far-reaching work a happy augury of the broad and generous wisdom which by some good fortune has presided over the various and successive plans for the organization and development of a university in this State.

"The original plan which was drawn by Judge Woodward in 1817 was characterized by remarkable breadth, though sketched in language ridiculously pedantic. In the development of our strictly university work we have yet hardly been able to realize the ideal of the eccentric but gifted man who framed the project of the 'Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania,' with its 'thirteen didaxiim,' or professorships! <sup>6</sup> Even while amusing ourselves at his polyglot vocabulary, we may remember that our statesmen of early days carried on their discussions under classical pseudonyms; that Mr. Jefferson suggested names for the Western States hardly less remarkable than the formidable title with which the University was burdened at its christening, and that the classical dictionary was fairly emptied on the towns of central New York. Judge Woodward, apparently mindful of the fact that universities had in every land grown up before the lower schools and had been the chief instrumentality in nourishing them, provided in his scheme that the President and

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representative." Grants of the scholarships have been uninterrupted through the more than two decades that have followed the Board's action. In the year 1952-1953 two students of Indian descent are enrolled in the University.

<sup>6</sup> The original draft in the handwriting of Judge Woodward is in the University Library.

the professors of the University should have the entire direction of collegiate, secondary, and lower education. They were to have the power, —I quote his comprehensive language,—‘to establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums, athenaeums, botanic gardens, laboratories, and other useful literary and scientific institutions consonant to the laws of the United States of America and of Michigan, and to provide for and appoint directors, visitors, curators, librarians, instructors and instructrixes, in, among, and throughout the various counties, cities, towns, townships, or other geographical divisions of Michigan.’ The instruction in every grade was to be gratuitous to those who were unable to pay the modest fees fixed. Fifteen per cent of the taxes imposed and fifteen per cent of the proceeds of four lotteries were to be devoted to the support of this institution thus charged with the conduct of all public education in Michigan. Whatever criticisms may be made upon this scheme, it certainly showed in its author a remarkably broad conception of the range which should be given to education here, a conception, it may be believed, which was never lost from sight, and which doubtless made easy the acceptance twenty years later of the large plans of educational organization that were then readily adopted. It was a happy prophecy of the truly liberal spirit which was subsequently to guide in the conduct of the University, that the first professors appointed for the ‘Catholepistemiad’ were the Rev. John Monteith, the Presbyterian minister in Detroit, and Gabriel Richard, the Roman Catholic Apostolical Vicar of Michigan. They established primary schools, and also the college in Detroit under the name of The First College of Michigania. For the aid of the institution some few thousands of dollars were raised by subscription, and the unused balance of a fund, given by citizens of Montreal and Mackinaw to help the sufferers from the fire which destroyed a large part of Detroit in 1805, was, at the request of its donors, turned into its treasury.

“In 1821 the governor and judges translated Judge Woodward’s charter into modern forms of speech and modified it in some particulars. They gave to the institution the simple name of The University of Michigan. Repealing the act of 1817, they yet retained in the act or charter of 1821 the grant to the University of the power to establish colleges and schools so far as the funds, which were no longer to be furnished by taxation, would permit. The catholicity of this charter of 1821 is shown in this memorable article: *‘Be it enacted*, that persons of every religious denomination shall be capable of being elected trustees; nor shall any person, as president, professor, instructor, or pupil, be



refused admittance for his conscientious persuasion in matters of religion, provided he demean himself in a proper manner and conform to such rules as may be established.'

"The Trustees maintained in Detroit for some time what was known as a Lancasterian School, and until 1837 a classical school, but their chief business consisted in caring for the lands. In those early years, when the population of the Territory was small, the college was not yet needed. But what we want to keep distinctly in mind to-day and to state with clearness and emphasis is that in both the act of 1817 and in that of 1821, those two early charters of the University, what we may call the Michigan idea of a system of education, beginning with the University and stretching down through all the lower grades to the primary school, was distinctly set forth. While we are celebrating to-day the semi-centennial of the present form of the organization of the University, let us not forget that without impropriety a semi-centennial celebration might have been held twenty years ago; that there is, as the Supreme Court of the State has declared, a legal and corporate continuity from the University of 1817 to that of 1821, and again to that of 1837; that a just conception of the functions of a university was at least seventy years ago made familiar to the citizens of Michigan; that what may be termed the Michigan idea of a university was never entirely forgotten from that day until now; and, therefore, that the memory of the fathers who framed the charter and nourished the feeble life of those earlier universities should be cherished by us to-day and by our descendants forever.

"On the admission of Michigan to the Union as a State, broad plans for public education were taken up with a more vigorous spirit than ever before. The men who framed the first constitution and shaped the early legislation of the State were men of large views, great enterprise, and marked force. They had come mainly from Ohio, New York, and New England, though a few conspicuous leaders were from Virginia. A considerable proportion of them were college bred, and all appreciated the importance of a well organized system of public education. Isaac E. Crary, a graduate of Trinity (then called Washington) College, in Connecticut, was chairman of the Committee on Education in the Constitutional Convention, and drafted the article on that subject which was incorporated into our first constitution. Fortunately he had made a study of Cousin's famous Report on the Prussian System of Education, and under the inspiration of that study sketched in the article a most comprehensive plan. It provided for the appointment of a Superintendent of Public Instruction, an officer then unknown to any one of our

States; for the establishment of common schools, of a library for each township, and of a university; and in general for the promotion by the legislature of intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement.

“What a noble and statesmanlike conception those founders of Michigan had of the educational outfit needed by the young State, which they foresaw was destined to be a great and powerful State! What a rebuke is their action to some of the theorists of our day who would confine the action of the State in providing for education to elementary instruction! Would that these men of narrow vision would study the words and the acts of the men who framed our first constitution and shaped our early legislation on education, and would thus learn what was the original and genuine Michigan spirit and temper concerning the support of all our educational institutions.

“Through Mr. Crary’s influence, his friend, the Rev. John D. Pierce, a graduate of Brown University, who had placed Cousin’s Report in his hands, and had discussed with him at length the plans of education needed in Michigan, was appointed the first Superintendent of Public Instruction. It was a singular good fortune that befell the State when Mr. Pierce was selected in that formative period for that important office. I cannot here pause to recognize what he did for the common schools. But I will say that Henry Barnard did not do more for the common schools of Rhode Island, nor Horace Mann for those of Massachusetts, than John D. Pierce did for those of Michigan. But to-day we are primarily concerned with what he did for the University. Having after his appointment made a journey to the East for the purpose of conferring with Edward Everett, President Day, Governor Marcy, and other prominent men, upon educational topics, he sketched with a free, bold hand, in his first report, presented in January, 1837, a plan for the organization of the University. He provided for the government of the institution by a Board of Regents, a part of whom were always to be certain State officers, and part of whom were to be elected by the legislature. There were to be three departments: one of Literature, Science, and the Arts, one of Law, and one of Medicine. The scope of instruction was to be as broad as it was under Judge Woodward’s scheme. Our means have not as yet enabled us to execute in all particulars the comprehensive plan which was framed by Mr. Pierce.

“Anticipating the question which might be asked in this little State of two hundred thousand souls, ‘Can an institution on a scale thus magnificent be sustained?’ this man, full of faith in the future of Michigan and in the intelligence of the people, bravely replied: ‘To suppose that



the wants of the State will not soon require a superstructure of fair proportions, on a foundation thus broad, would be a severe reflection on the foresight and patriotism of the age. . . . Let the State move forward as prosperously for a few years to come as it has for a few years past, and one half of the revenue arising from the University fund will sustain an institution on a scale more magnificent than the one proposed, and sustain it too with only a mere nominal admittance fee. . . . The institution then would present an anomaly in the history of learning, a university of the first order, open to all, tuition free.'

"Moreover, he foresaw plainly what would be the advantages both to collegiate and to professional education in having professional schools established as a part of the University. He paraphrased most aptly a striking passage from Lord Bacon as follows: 'To disincorporate any particular science from general knowledge is one great impediment to its advancement. For there is a supply of light and information which the particulars and instances of one science do yield and present for the framing and correcting the axioms of another science in their very truth and notion. For each particular science has a dependence upon universal knowledge, to be augmented and rectified by the superior light thereof.'

"The Superintendent's lucid and intelligent report made a deep impression upon the legislature, and was adopted with scarcely a dissenting voice. On March 18, 1837, the act establishing the University was approved. It followed in all important particulars the suggestions of the Superintendent. On the twentieth of March the act was approved which located the University at Ann Arbor, where the forty acres of land now constituting our Campus had been gratuitously offered as a site by the Ann Arbor Land Company. Three of the members of that company are still living in this city, E. W. Morgan, Charles Thayer, and Daniel B. Brown, and have been invited to be present as our guests to-day. The company purchased this land with the intention of presenting a part of it to the State as a site for the State House, in case this place were chosen for the capital. On the fifth of June, fifty years ago this month, the Board of Regents held their first meeting in this town. That day may perhaps with as much propriety as any be considered the natal day of the present organization of the University.

"The infancy of the institution was not unattended with perils and with some disasters. A bill once passed the Senate and was defeated in the House by only one vote to distribute the income of the fund among various colleges which were planned or which might soon be planned. Mr. Pierce tells us that by his personal effort he secured the defeat of that



bill. He had obtained from leading administrators of colleges in various parts of the country, and had incorporated in his annual report, opinions strongly urging the concentration of strength in one vigorous institution. Yet so powerful were the private and local interests appealed to by the bill that the frittering away of the endowment and the establishment of a brood of weak and impoverished colleges were barely prevented.

“Again, the first Board of Regents made the mistake of adopting so magnificent a plan for buildings that the execution of it must have crippled the resources of the treasury for a long time. But here again the vigilant Superintendent, Mr. Pierce, came to the rescue. He exercised the power he then had of vetoing the measure. He justified his act, which temporarily excited a strong feeling against him, by pointing out the fact so often overlooked even in these days, that not bricks and mortar, but able teachers, libraries, cabinets, and museums make a real university.

“A third peril, which the University did not wholly escape, was the sacrifice of much of the value of the lands that constituted the endowment. The power to sell the University lands was originally vested in the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the minimum price of them was fixed at twenty dollars an acre. In fact the average price secured by the State in 1837 was twenty-two dollars and eighty-five cents an acre. Could the lands have been sold at the prices originally fixed, the endowment from the land grant would have been nearly double what it is. But in 1839 an act was passed, authorizing the sale at one dollar and a quarter an acre of any lands located for University purposes, if it were proved that before their location by the State they were occupied and cultivated in accordance with the preemption law of Congress. The friends of the University were filled with alarm at this prospect of so great a reduction of the expected income. The Regents suspended all operations for organizing the University and appealed to Governor Mason to protect its interests. He interposed his veto of the bill and justified his veto by a stirring message, and so saved the endowment. In grateful recognition of this act and of the warm interest he always manifested in the University, we gladly hang his portrait on our walls with those of our other benefactors and friends. Already in 1831 and again in 1834 the Trustees had made a grave mistake by disposing at a low price of lands which under the United States grant had been chosen in the territory now occupied by the city of Toledo, and which of themselves, if kept until now, would have formed a large endowment. From 1838 to 1842 there was much legislation, reducing the price of lands below the minimum of twenty dollars



an acre originally established. One act authorized a reappraisal of lands already sold at stipulated prices, in order to scale the prices down for the benefit of the purchaser. It was pleaded and doubtless with some truth that the financial disasters of 1837 and the years immediately following made it difficult, if not impossible, for most purchasers to fulfil their contracts at that time. None the less the calamity to the University treasury was most serious. We can see now that it would have been far better for the University and perfectly just to the purchasers to extend the time of payment, but not to reduce the price. The general result of the management of our lands has been that, instead of obtaining for them the sum of \$921,000, which at twenty dollars an acre Mr. Pierce in his first report showed they would bring, they have yielded \$547,897.51, and one hundred and twenty-five acres remain unsold. It is not easy to guess how much more the Toledo lands would have added to our fund, if they had been retained for some years, but certainly some hundreds of thousands of dollars. Still, we may at least temper our regret at the sacrifice which was made by remembering that no other one of the five States formed out of the Northwest Territory made the land grant of the United States yield so much to its University as Michigan did.

“A step taken by the Regents at the very outset was not without its perils to the University, though it also brought some needed help to the institution and to the State. It was the establishment of branches in various towns. These branches served as preparatory schools for the University and as training schools for teachers of the primary or district schools. They also awakened a widespread interest in higher education, and led ultimately to the establishment of the excellent high schools for which Michigan is so distinguished. But they made so heavy a drain on the treasury of the University that they seriously embarrassed it, and had they been multiplied, as was at first intended, they would have absorbed the entire income. They did so desirable a work in our principal towns that there grew up a sentiment in favor of making the support of them the main object in the use of the University funds. Governor Barry, in his message in 1842, affirmed that the branches were to be more useful than the University, and that they ought to be multiplied, though he recommended less expenditure on each. It is amusing to notice that they were objected to by some as aristocratic institutions, since a small tuition fee was charged. It is now pretty generally agreed that the support of the branches was by an illegal use of the University funds. After a few years the Regents found themselves obliged to cut down the appropriations to the branches, and finally in 1849 to refuse them altogether. So this

peril of frittering away the funds on schools, like the earlier one of frittering them away on numerous colleges, was happily escaped.

"Meantime from the date of their accession to office the Regents had been busy in preparing to launch the University. Their difficulties were very great. The management of the lands was not in their hands. They could not know, even approximately, in any one year how much money they could rely on having the next year. They had no power to appoint a president. They had many discouragements in unwise legislation. But we owe them a debt of gratitude for the courage with which they pushed on. Our scientific friends will observe with interest that among their very first acts was the purchase of the Baron Lederer collection of minerals, and a copy of Audubon's *Birds of America*. The very first professor they appointed was Dr. Asa Gray, the distinguished botanist, who, crowned with laurels from both hemispheres, is still laboring with untiring activity in the freshness of a vigorous old age.<sup>7</sup> He was called to the chair of Zoology and Botany. The Regents received in March, 1838, a loan of one hundred thousand dollars from the State, and by September, 1841, had completed the erection of four dwelling houses, absurdly planned by a New York architect, and of the building which now forms the north wing of this edifice. They first called this north wing the 'main building,' and afterwards, in honor of Governor Mason, Mason Hall, a name which unfortunately did not remain in use.<sup>8</sup> And so now, in September, 1841, four years after the Regents had begun their work, we find the doors of the University really open for the reception of students, and Professor Whiting and good Doctor Williams, as we learned to call him afterwards, welcoming to their class-rooms five freshmen and one sophomore. It is to be presumed that there was not much hazing of freshmen by the sophomore class. All but one of those six students are still living, to march at the head of the long procession of graduates who have since left these halls. In spite of financial distresses, which more than once threatened to suspend the life of the institution in 1841 and 1842, the two zealous professors bravely held on to their work. By 1844 the Faculty was enlarged in number, and in 1845 the first class of students, numbering eleven, was graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Gray, who never actually taught in the University, died on January 30, 1888.

<sup>8</sup> But in July, 1913, the Regents approved the request of the Sarah Caswell Angell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution to place on the outer wall of the North Wing a bronze tablet commemorating Governor Stevens T. Mason by naming the building for him. After University Hall and the two wings were razed in 1950, and the great addition to Angell Hall was erected, the name and the tablet were by Regents' action transferred to one of the larger sections of the new structure.



“From this time until the accession of Dr. Tappan to the presidency, the work of the college classes was carried on after the methods and in the spirit of the typical New England colleges. All colleges of standing, except the University of Virginia, were so conducted. The professors were men of creditable attainments and were faithful to their duties. The substantial success of the men whom they trained, a good proportion of whom have rendered eminent services in various professions, is the best testimony to the excellence of the instruction they gave. But the number of pupils was small. The maximum number during that period was eighty-nine, reached in 1847—8. From that time, owing no doubt to the suspension of the branches, the attendance declined. In 1850 the report of the Board of Visitors states that only fifty students were actually in attendance, and inquires with earnestness why, when the tuition is free, students are not attracted in larger numbers to the University. After discussing the facts, it concludes that the reasons of the lack of prosperity are the lack of a president, a want of unity in the Faculty, and the presence of professors chosen on other grounds than those of fitness. This last remark evidently refers to the policy which had been followed of endeavoring to distribute the professorships among the several religious denominations.

“Meantime, though the work of the college was so limited, the Regents had not lost sight of the broad plan which was originally contemplated for the University. In 1847 they gave careful consideration to the subject of establishing Medical and Law Departments. The result was that in 1850 the Medical Department was opened in the building which, much enlarged, still accommodates it, and a class exceeding in number the students in the Literary Department was in attendance during the first year. The services of Dr. Zina Pitcher, who had been on the Board since the organization of the University, though valuable in every way, were of special value to the Medical Department at this time and until his death. That department speedily took that rank which it has ever since maintained, among the leading medical colleges of the country. Like the Literary Department, it has been fortunate in retaining in its chairs for more than a generation at least two of its accomplished teachers, Palmer and Ford, whom hundreds of their grateful pupils delight to greet here to-day. The graduates of the early classes have special cause for thanksgiving in the fact that three of the professors who opened the school are still living to receive their gratulations, Dr. Gunn, Dr. Douglas, and Dr. Allen.

“The constitution adopted by the State in 1851 provided for the

election in that year of Regents by popular vote. The new Board at once addressed itself to the task of finding a president. The choice fell upon Dr. Henry Philip Tappan. No better man could have been selected for the special exigencies of the University at that time. A man of commanding presence, of marked intellectual endowments already proved by the authorship of books which had won for him reputation on both sides of the Atlantic, of large familiarity with the history of education, of experience as a college teacher, of broad and well defined views on university policy, of the warmest sympathy with Crary and Pierce and the founders of this institution in their admiration of the Prussian system, of remarkable power of impressing others with his views whether by public speech or by private intercourse, he took up the work here with a vigor and earnestness that speedily kindled in all hearts the hope of that brilliant success which soon crowned his labors. He confessed that he was attracted to Michigan by the broad views embodied in the plan of the State system of education. In the spirit of that plan he brought to his work the most generous conception of the function of the University, and he soon awakened in the public an enthusiastic sympathy with his own large ideas. He aroused people to an appreciation of the fact that our State system of education could not reach its proper development without a well-equipped university as its heart to send the energies of its life down through the schools. Not yet have we filled in the sketch which he drew of the ideal university for Michigan. He maintained that a real university ought to give instructions not only in the studies ordinarily pursued in colleges in that day, but also in the fine arts, in agriculture, in the industrial arts, in pedagogy, and in the preparation for the so-called learned professions. He desired that students should have graduated in the Literary Department before they were admitted to the professional schools. Abandoning the idea which had prevailed that professorships should be distributed among the various religious denominations, he maintained that no sectarian or political tests should be considered in making appointments, but only character and moral and intellectual fitness. By his counsel the dormitory system was abandoned, and the vast sum which would have been needed to provide lodging houses for students was saved, and the students to their advantage have for the most part enjoyed the wholesome influence of the home life of our citizens. He stoutly opposed the separation and dispersion of the various parts of the University, and maintained that the very idea of a university supposes the concentration of books, apparatus, and learned men in one place. He looked forward to a day when the merely gym-



nasial work should give place here to genuine university work. These and other kindred ideas, now familiar to us, but new to many in those early days, Dr. Tappan advanced and vindicated with a stirring eloquence before the legislature, before the students and Faculties, and before the public, until they were understood and widely appreciated. With equal zeal he pushed the internal development of the University. He added to the Faculty a corps of brilliant scholars, two of whom, Dr. Winchell and Dr. Frieze, abide with us even now, and have builded their fruitful lives into the life of the University. He introduced the scientific and the partial course of instruction to afford facilities to those who did not wish to pursue the classical curriculum. He secured funds for the astronomical observatory, which, under Brünnow and later under Watson, was destined to win so much renown for the University. A new life, a new enthusiasm were awakened throughout the whole institution. Both teachers and students were full of zeal and of hope. They caught the spirit and re-echoed everywhere the stimulating words of the new leader, until every one not only saw that a real university was growing here with unprecedented vigor, but was full of faith that a much more brilliant development in the near future was secured. This ardent faith was itself a guaranty of the success for which it looked. I doubt if in the sixth decade of this century any other university in the land was administered in so broad, free, and generous a spirit as this was under Dr. Tappan and his large-minded colleagues in the Faculties. Most of the colleges were in bondage to old traditions. Dr. Wayland, with his herculean strength, rose up in rebellion against exclusive devotion to the old ways under which the colleges were pining away, and made an effort for larger freedom of action even before Dr. Tappan came here. But his effort was only partially successful and for a limited time. But this University having once started upon the new path, blazed out by Dr. Tappan and his associates, never once faltered in its progress, but has gone bravely on to larger and larger successes.

“In 1859 occurred that important event in the history of the University, the opening of the Law School. Perhaps never was an American law school so fortunate in its first Faculty, composed of those renowned teachers, Charles I. Walker, James V. Campbell, and Thomas M. Cooley, all living, thank God, to take part in this celebration, and to receive the loving salutations of the more than three thousand graduates who, as learners, have sat delighted at their feet. The fame which these men and those afterwards associated with them gave to the school was a

source of great strength to the whole University. It is a significant fact, deserving of special recognition, that the establishment of the Medical and Law Schools contributed very much to the rapid increase in the number of students in the Literary Department. Every graduate of each of those schools became instrumental in turning hither the steps of students who desired collegiate learning.

"When Dr. Tappan closed his official career, after eleven years of service, the Literary Department had more than quadrupled the number of students it had on his accession to office, the Medical Department had two hundred and fifty students, the Law School one hundred and thirty-four, the total attendance was six hundred and fifty-two, and the University was recognized on both sides of the Atlantic as a great and worthy school of liberal learning.

"While in a certain very just and emphatic sense the University rests on foundations laid seventy years ago, and, in the form in which we know it, has been builded on the lines traced during the administration of the first president, under the wise and tactful direction of his successor, President Haven, it moved on rapidly in its career of prosperity. Additions were made to the observatory, to the medical building, and to the chemical laboratory. A course in Pharmacy and the so-called Latin and Scientific course were established. The number of students increased rapidly, until in 1866-7 it reached twelve hundred and fifty-five. Dr. Haven's genial and conciliatory temperament, his felicity of address, his versatile adaptability, and his broad and generous theories of education won favor for himself and for the University. To the great regret of students, Faculties, Regents, and the public, he resigned after a brief administration of six years.

"During the two years in which Dr. Frieze occupied the executive chair, two most important measures were adopted, which broadened very much the influence of the University. These were the admission of women to all departments, and the establishment of the system by which students are on certain conditions received from high schools without special examination. In respect to both of these measures we may say that our experience of seventeen years has justified most, if not all, the expectations of those who advocated them, and has removed the doubts and fears of those who opposed them or who supported them with hesitancy. Hundreds of women have availed themselves of the privileges offered them here, and have gone forth, several of them to foreign lands as missionary teachers or missionary physicians, many to various parts of our country as teachers in high schools, academies,



and colleges, and the rest to those various duties, whether in professional careers, official positions, or in domestic life, which women of culture are fitted to discharge. The success of the experiment of admitting women to this institution was very influential in opening to them the doors of many colleges in this country, and was not without effect abroad.

“The establishment of the ‘diploma relation with the high schools’ was one of the most important steps ever taken to bring unity into the public school system of this State. Superintendent Pierce had in his first report wisely urged that all grades of schools should be equally under the care of the State and supported by it. He was strenuous for the organization of the branches of the University, so that high school education might be furnished in them and teachers might be prepared for the primary schools. His only mistake was in throwing upon the University fund the expense of this secondary school work, when it would have been wise to provide for it at least in part from the common school funds. The branches having finally been severed from the University, the union schools or high schools grew up as separate, local organizations, and not as an organic part of one system. The voluntary establishment of the ‘diploma connection’ between the University and the high schools set up a quasi-organic relation between them, bridged over the space which had separated them, and so left the road plain and open for every child to proceed easily from the primary school up through the high schools and through the University. There is therefore now a substantial, if not in all respects a perfectly formal, unity in the educational system of the State. The plan adopted here, which was an adaptation to our needs of the German method of receiving students from the gymnasium into the university, has been widely imitated both in the East and in the West, though sometimes with modifications which have diminished its efficiency.

“During recent years, with an ever enlarging conception, both on the part of the State and of the University, of the functions, opportunities, and duties of this institution, its development has been rapid and striking. The work of the long-established departments has been elevated, broadened, and enriched, new departments have been added, commodious buildings have been multiplied, and the power of the University has been largely strengthened.

“In the Literary Department there has been a great increase in the number and variety of courses of instruction offered, the application of laboratory methods to the teaching of the sciences has become general, the students of engineering have been provided with facilities for shop-

work, a well adjusted elective system of studies has been introduced, and to advanced students large opportunities for specializing their work have been furnished. These measures, co-operating with other causes, have increased the enthusiasm for study, have brought new stimulation to the teachers, have made the relations of students and teachers intimate and friendly to a degree formerly unknown, and have brought the department to a most gratifying degree of efficiency.

"The list of professional schools has been enlarged by the organization of the School of Pharmacy, the Homoeopathic Medical College, and the Dental College. In these, as in the older schools, the requirements for admission and for graduation have been gradually raised, so that the education imparted in the several schools is more comprehensive than ever before. The number of teachers and assistants now reaches eighty-three, and the number of students fifteen hundred and seventy-three.

"As upon this glad day we gratefully trace the remarkable growth of the University, we find the inquiry constantly forced on our minds, to what is this wonderful growth due? The answer has, I trust, been in some degree suggested in what has been said. But it may be well to set forth more sharply the causes of the great development which we so rejoice to see.

"1. First I would name the broad conception which has for the most part been held with distinctness, of the function and methods of a university. The custodians and administrators of this institution have striven to build on a large and generous plan. They have happily followed in general the German rather than the English ideal of education, but have always aimed to adapt the plans to the real wants of our time and our country. They have filled out the large plan originally sketched as rapidly as the means at their disposal would permit. With a prudent courage in experimentation and innovation they have introduced methods which have been widely approved and imitated even by institutions which were at first severe in their criticisms of them. This large and free and generous spirit, in which the University has been conducted, has commended itself, especially in the West, and has been a source of great power.

"2. The authorities of the University have been guided throughout its history by the wise principle enunciated early by Superintendent Pierce, that men, not bricks and mortar, make a university. Certainly there is nothing in the beauty or elegance of most of our buildings to awaken any special vanity on our part. But from the opening of the University there has never been a time when the Faculties did not con-



tain able and eminent men, and for more than thirty years now passed men of national and of European reputation have always been found giving instruction in these halls. The marvel is that with their meagre salaries such men have been willing to remain here. But there has been among them an *esprit du corps*, an appreciation of the largeness of the work which falls to this University, an enjoyment of its free spirit, and a consequent devotion to its interests, which have fortunately retained some of our most gifted teachers in the face of the strongest pecuniary temptations to go elsewhere. The fame of these faithful teachers has been an inestimable endowment of the University, and has drawn pupils from every State and Territory of the Union, and from every continent of the globe. May the day never come when the governing body of this institution shall lose sight of the vital truth that it is on the ability and attainments of the teacher more than on any or on all things else that the fortune of the University depends.

"3. It has doubtless been conducive to the growth of the University that the founders organized it on the plan of bringing education within the reach of the poor. The early settlers of the State, though many of them were well educated, were generally men of limited means. They appreciated intellectual training, and desired that it should, if possible, be secured by their children. They knew that the rich could send their sons away to Eastern colleges. But if college education was to be gained by their sons, it must be at small cost. They therefore naturally and wisely provided that instruction should be afforded at a nominal rate. This was a most democratic and salutary plan. There could have been no greater misfortune to this State than such an organization of the higher education as should have made it accessible to the rich alone. Society is now sufficiently shaken by the antagonisms and frictions between the rich and the poor. But suppose we had the poor hopelessly doomed to comparative ignorance by the costliness of advanced education to the pupils, and so had society divided into two classes, the one rich and highly educated, the other poor and with limited education or none, how much more fearful would be their conflicts when they met in the shock of battle! But here the rich and the poor have always sat side by side in the class-room. They have associated on terms of perfect equality. Brains and character have alone determined which should be held in the higher esteem. There is no other community in the world so wholesomely democratic as one like our body of University students. The whole policy of the administration of this University has been to make life here simple and inexpensive, and so a large proportion

of our students have always supported themselves in whole or in large part by their own earnings. They have flocked hither in great numbers because they believed that an excellent education could be obtained here by students of very limited means. This has always been, and we are proud of the fact, the University of the poor. From these halls the boys born in the log cabins of the wilderness have gone forth armed with the power of well disciplined minds and characters, to fight their way to those brilliant successes which mere wealth could never have achieved, to the foremost positions in church and state.

“4. We gladly recognize the fact that the success of the University is largely due to the efficient aid of the schools of the State. While the University has done much to elevate the character of the schools, by sending them as teachers its thoroughly trained graduates, it is also true that but for the hearty co-operation of the schools, but for the continual and rapid improvement in their work, it would have been impossible for the University to push up its standard of work from decade to decade, as it has done. Especially has there been a helpful improvement in the high schools since the diploma relation between them and the University was established. There is now a certain unity in the scholarly spirit of the schools and that of the University, which is serviceable to the University and, we believe, to the schools. But without this fine spirit in the schools the University would be seriously crippled. The child who enters the primary school is now stimulated to hope for the highest education, since the way lies open, straight, and clear from his school-house to the very doors of the University, the way which has been trodden by many as poor and as humble as the poorest and humblest in the rudest school-house in the Northern woods.

“5. The loyalty and the success of our graduates of all departments have also been most helpful to our rapid growth. More than eight thousand in number, they have gone to all parts of this land and to foreign lands, speaking with loving praise the name of their Alma Mater, and illustrating in their lives the value of the training they had received under our roof. In the great struggle for the nation's existence they did their full part, and some of the choicest and best, whose names are starred on our General Catalogue, poured out their young lives on Southern battle-fields. Our graduates are found engaged in every worthy pursuit. By their achievements they are commending their dear mother not only for the mental discipline she gave them, but for the brave, earnest, manly spirit which by her free methods and by the character of her teachers she has nourished in them. The sap and vigor of this Western life have always characterized this young University and the



great body of her alumni, and so the earnest, ingenuous youth of the West have come here almost instinctively to find a congenial home. If sound learning has been imparted here, we believe that we may yet more emphatically claim that manliness of character has always been developed in these halls.

“While studying to-day the history and development of this institution, it is pleasant to remember that it has not been without a creditable influence upon other colleges and universities. Every good institution of learning by its life helps every other good one. And while in the presence of so many honored delegates from other schools of learning, who rejoice us by their presence at this hour, we gratefully acknowledge the inspiration we have received from our sister institutions, we may be permitted to recall the testimony which some of them have borne to us of the assistance they have found in our experiences. Particularly have the state universities which have been established in all the Western and in some of the Southwestern States builded to a considerable degree on the model of this University. The same causes that contributed to our prosperity are now crowning them with success. Whatever perils may have beset any of them in their earlier days, their existence is now assured. Not infrequently they have turned hither for counsel, and naturally enough have often adopted methods which had here been proved wise. As we see these state universities attaining to higher usefulness and eminence and rejoice in their progress, we think it not presumptuous to believe that one of the useful services which this institution has rendered is found in the guidance and help which she has providentially been able to furnish to these sister institutions of the West.

“In the bright history of this institution we joyfully read a happy augury for her future. With such rapid strides has she come forward into the front rank of American universities that we instinctively look for continued and brilliant progress in the second half century of life upon which she is now entering. We often delight ourselves with imagining what the next generation will find here when the celebration of the centennial of the University shall be held.

“While we do not suffer ourselves to doubt that the development of the University is to continue, we do well to keep in mind even in these days of exuberant joy the essential condition of her prosperity. That condition is the hearty sympathy and support of the State of Michigan. The proceeds of the United States land grant and the fees of students no longer suffice to meet the current expenses of the University. We are obliged to have constant aid from the treasury of the State. If the University is to grow under the present organization, that aid must be,

not rapidly perhaps, but steadily and surely increased. Should that aid be withheld, the institution would at once shrink from a great university with a cosmopolitan constituency and a cosmopolitan fame to a local school with a limited constituency and a fading reputation. The vital question therefore is, if the University persists in her old habit of growing, will this commonwealth stand by her and meet her pressing needs? All these fifty years Cassandras have not been wanting, who have predicted that the State would in weariness abandon the University. Happily these predictions have never been fulfilled. Never before, I believe, was the University so strongly intrenched in the affections of the State. But the sons and daughters and friends of the University may even in their exhilarating celebrations of this week lay it soberly to heart that the prevalence of an intelligent public opinion upon the value of the institution is absolutely essential to her perpetuity, and that on them it mainly depends whether such a public opinion, appreciative and sympathetic, shall prevail. The great majority of our citizens, the great majority of our legislators, never see the University. They must know of the scope and worth of its work, and of the considerable sums needed to maintain it even on our most economical methods, mainly as they learn all this from you. In a very just sense and in a large degree, then, the fortunes of the University are committed to your hands. That you will be faithful to this great trust we do not for a moment question. Therefore we confidently cherish the hope that this great and prosperous commonwealth will, with just pride in the renown and usefulness of this school, continue in all the years to come to meet her reasonable requests for support.

"The munificent gifts which during the last few years we have received from private benefactors also encourage us to believe that the generosity of the State will be supplemented by that of large-hearted individuals. There is abundant room for the most appropriate exercise of private beneficence. We cannot doubt that some of our citizens, especially some of our alumni, will wish to leave here memorials of their abiding interest in the University.

"And so, full of that faith in the future growth of the University, which is begotten by the contemplation of her inspiring history of fifty years, by our confidence in the appreciative generosity of this great, wealthy, and growing commonwealth, and by our assurance of the loyalty and devotion of her sons and daughters, with joyful enthusiasm, with abounding hope, with loving hearts, we bid her God-speed, as she enters now upon the second half century of her life."



# *The Fishery Commission*

## CHAPTER XXIII

*We have seen* how one old Burlington friend, Senator Edmunds, had a part in sending Angell to China as Minister. Now the other of the two "world citizens" of Burlington, Edward J. Phelps, sent by President Cleveland as Minister to Great Britain, gave him his first knowledge of his selection for the second responsibility to be laid upon him in the field of international diplomacy.

On August 27, 1887, when the echoes of the Semicentennial were just dying down in Michigan, the Minister in London in a pen-written note plunged very abruptly into the subject on his mind, thus—under the head of "STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL":

"My dear Pres't Angell: There will be a commission of three on each side to meet at Washington soon, as I once intimated to you.

"I have proposed to our Govt. to appoint *Mr. Biddle* of Phil<sup>a</sup>—*yourself*,—and *a representative of the Mass. interest*. Of course I do not know that my recommendation will be adopted. It would be probably, if I was at Washington. But there is so much pulling and hauling there in such matters that nothing can be foretold.

"I write now in a hurry to say that if you should be applied to, you must on no account decline. The service is very important—well done will be creditable as well as useful. And it will not be unpleasant. The Dept. will pay your expenses, & Congress will probably cheat you out of your compensation. The British will send their minister (West)—a Canadian—and a leading man from here.

"Of course this is a profound secret at present which may be blowing all over the country before you get this.

"With love to Mrs. Angell,

Yours always,  
E.J.P."

The exact date at which this letter broke upon the postcelebration calm of the President's life can only be surmised. But it was not until some weeks later that official notice was given him in a confidential letter of September 21 from Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State, saying in part that "in the performance of his duty under the Constitution, the President of the United States has deemed it needful for the public welfare to enter into negotiations with the Government of Great Britain for the consideration and adjustment of all questions relating to the rights of Fishery on the shores of British North America which are in dispute between the two Governments, as well as such other questions as may arise in the course of such negotiations, and which may be included by the authority of the two Governments.

"I am instructed by the President to invite you to take part in this important public duty, as one of the plenipotentiaries on the part of the United States."

The Secretary of State went on to say that Angell would be associated with two other representatives of the United States whom he did not name, but he stated that Mr. Joseph Chamberlain would be one of those representing Britain. The sessions of the commission would be held in Washington, and might, he thought, cover about sixty days. A preliminary conference at the capital would be highly desirable. The Secretary took a more optimistic view of the attitude of Congress than that of Minister Phelps: "Of the compensation I will only say at present that will be arranged to your satisfaction."

Prepared by Mr. Phelps' note of warning, Angell replied on September 23 that if the engagement met with the approval of the Regents, as he thought it would, he would accept the appointment and could be in Washington for a conference any time after October 5, though the fourteenth would be preferable. But before he wrote he consulted that wise friend, Judge Cooley.<sup>1</sup> The two were in agreement, as Cooley records in the sheaves of personal memoranda that he kept: "Two of the chief objections are that probably no treaty can be agreed upon that the country as a whole will accept as satisfactory, and that the Senate has put itself on record against an attempt by Commission to make one. But my opinion is he ought to accept, & I think that is his own inclination." On the twenty-sixth, with the Regents' approval, Angell accepted the appointment.

<sup>1</sup> Cooley was at home in Ann Arbor though almost all of his time was now spent in Washington and elsewhere on his duties as the first chairman of the newly formed Interstate Commerce Commission.



On October 8 Judge Cooley, now back in Washington, found Angell waiting for him at his hotel. In the twenty-four hours that had elapsed since his arrival, Angell had had an interview with Secretary Bayard, whom he liked even more, if possible, than he had liked Secretary Evarts at the time he first talked over the Chinese mission with the latter. Also present was his other associate, Mr. William L. Putnam, a Portland, Maine, lawyer, with Secretary Bayard himself, on the commission. Angell doubted that he was going to like Putnam, but time proved him greatly mistaken in this. The close personal friendship between the three colleagues endured long after their sessions together were but a memory. Especially was this true for Angell with respect to Bayard, for whose abilities and humanity he formed the highest regard.<sup>2</sup> The only criticism he could make of Bayard was that his straightforward mind and heart were perhaps too likely to endow other and lesser men with his own candor and high morality, with the result that his fitness to drive a good hard bargain for those he represented was sometimes mistrusted. Angell did not agree with Bayard's forecast that the whole business could be settled in sixty days, and results, including the debates and the ultimate rejection of the treaty in the United States Senate, were to show that he was as right in this view as he had been wrong in his first impression of Putnam.

The commission "had two strikes on it" to start with. In the first place, Mr. Cleveland, who was the first Democratic President in nearly twenty-five years, while he had a Democratic House, was faced by a Republican Senate. Everyone was looking forward to the next year's presidential campaign, and the Republicans were avid for "issues" that would discredit him and lead to the return of the Republicans to undisputed power. The attitude of the Senate had been shown in the spring of 1886, when it formally voted its opposition to the appointment

<sup>2</sup>"I prize especially the acquaintance and friendship I formed with Mr. Bayard. A man of singular personal charm, I have never known one in public life of higher and nobler sense of public duty. He scorned the mean arts of the mere politician and whatever was unworthy in the spirit and policy of his own party. He was so magnanimous to his opponent, that to a certain degree his generosity unfitted him to negotiate with so keen a man as Chamberlain. He was tempted to concede too much. He was gifted with wit which was never ungenerous or bitter, but always most enjoyable." Angell, *Reminiscences*.

"I went to call on Mr. Bayard . . . . He is getting ready to go back to his old home from which he has now been absent twenty years . . . . It was easy to see that he feels somewhat keenly the injustice of which he has been the subject. Still not an indication of bitterness appears: his temperament is as sweet as ever, if not as sunny. He spoke in the kindest terms of his acquaintance with Prest. Angell." Cooley to his wife, May 5, 1889.

of a commission to negotiate with respect to the fisheries and by passage of a law empowering the President to take retaliatory measures against the Canadians for their acts annoying or injurious to American fishermen—acts which the Canadians alleged were justified under the old treaties.

In response to a request by Senator Edmunds, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Secretary of State had on January 26, 1887, transmitted a list of forty-nine American fishing vessels seized, detained, or warned off from the ports of Newfoundland, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia during the fishing season of 1886. The first of those listed had been "driven from harbor on March 22 in a storm." On February 5 there had been transmitted a second list of sixty-eight more vessels alleged to have met with similar misusages, such as refusals to allow the purchase of necessary food, detention, and boarding by armed men. Doubtless there was provocation on both sides. The American seaman has never been renowned for his rivalry of Lord Chesterfield. And much of the evidence given by American captains under oath was disputed point-blank by Canadian port officials. Pages 142 to 283 of the published *Senate Executive Documents* of the fiftieth Congress are entirely made up of closely printed reports of testimony by American fishermen recounting the wrongs they had suffered.<sup>3</sup> Counterirritants were claimed by the British with respect to wrongs they asserted had been done them on the sealing grounds in the Bering Sea and elsewhere off Alaska.

Another circumstance in this election year beclouded the issue and threatened the acceptance of any treaty that might be negotiated. This rampant British problem was what used to be called all over the world the "Irish Question." Angell had met it even a decade earlier. In his negotiations with the Chinese in Peking they had brought upon themselves a rebuke from Commissioner Trescot by their statement that the American commissioners were influenced in their arguments by "the Irish rabble at home." The infamous Molly Maguires of the Pennsylvania coal-fields in the 1870's were part and parcel of the matter.

<sup>3</sup> It was in reference to a single one of all these fisheries clashes that in a note to the British Minister, Lord Sackville-West, on October 31, 1887, Bayard had written: "I now remark that the incident which has been the subject of this correspondence affords but another illustration and additional evidence, if any were needed, of the unwisdom of imperiling the friendly relations of two kindred and neighboring countries by intrusting the interpretation and execution of a treaty between them to the discretion of local and petty officials, and vesting in them powers of administration wholly unwarranted and naturally prolific of the irritations which wise and responsible rulers will always seek to avoid."



Of them James Ford Rhodes says: "The characteristic failings of the Celts, as the ancient Romans knew them, were intensified in their Irish descendants by the seven centuries of misgovernment of Ireland by England. Subject to tyranny at home, the Irishman when he came to America too often translated liberty into license."<sup>4</sup> There were thousands of voting Irish-Americans, mostly good citizens, but all alike abhorring England and all her works. There were more Irishmen in America than in Ireland.<sup>5</sup> Neither political party wanted in the coming campaign to alienate these ballots by negotiating with the British government in any way that could possibly be twisted to rouse accusation of yielding a single thing to the hated Sassenach.

Grover Cleveland, as in so many other circumstances, was immovable in his determination to eliminate the disputes that were bringing annually so much needless grief to that hardy race, the New England fishermen, who each year paid their toll in lives to the North Atlantic, and whose survivors came down the coast in the fall, the Gloucestermen with their home-coming hymn:

"O Double Thatcher, here's to you.  
The Eastern Point now comes in view.  
Our boys and girls we soon shall see,  
At anchor off Cape Ann."

As their commissioners the British had named the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, easily the ablest of the three, though Sir Charles Tupper, Minister of Finance of Canada, was a good man in his own right. The third member was the British Minister to Washington, Lord Sackville-West, whose sole contribution throughout the entire period covered by the deliberations, as Angell recorded, consisted of motions to adjourn.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *History of the United States since 1850*, Vol. VIII, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Bayard to Angell, June 11, 1890. Angell Papers.

<sup>6</sup> At the mention of this remarkably dull man, there is recalled one of the many rays of sunshine that flitted over Angell's classroom in international law in the fall semester of 1895. He spoke of the decoy letter written by one "Murchison" to the British Minister at the height of the bitter presidential campaign of 1888. "Murchison" wrote that he was a British-born naturalized American citizen who wanted to cast his vote for the candidate who could be expected to pursue a policy most friendly to the mother country. Instead of consigning the letter to his wastebasket, Lord Sackville-West replied advising a vote for Cleveland. The letter was marked "Private," which, if it had any effect, only made the offense worse. As was intended when "Murchison" made his inquiry, the letters were promptly spread in type or facsimile over every Republican newspaper in the country, and with equal promptness resulted in the Minister's dismissal by the President as soon as the British government showed hesitation about recalling him. Angell commented to his students:

Behind the new commission, there was a considerable history of treaties endeavoring to remove or avoid disputes relating to the taking of fish off the eastern shores of Canada. The peace treaty of 1783 governed until 1812 and the outbreak of war. The right of Americans to dry fish on the coasts was denied by this treaty. In 1818 another treaty was signed and, after long continued friction, in 1854 was superseded by another providing for a degree of reciprocity. That endured to 1866, when it was abrogated by the United States. Then in 1873 a fourth agreement revived many of the provisions of 1854. On the theory that fishing in the Canadian waters was a much more valuable right than the American coastal sea afforded, under an arbitration the United States, in a mood of considerable resentment, paid Canada five and one-half million dollars. But in 1885 the American government terminated the convention of 1873, and friction between fishermen and Canadian authorities at once developed—particularly involving the port authorities of the Maritimes. These shores were the scene of the chronic international bickering upon which the six commissioners in effect looked out when they held their first session in Washington on November 21.

The first difficulty the Americans had to face was the number of issues

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“You could hardly suppose that a seasoned diplomat could be so stupid.” And then he added with a dreamy twinkle, “That is, you couldn’t unless you knew Lord Sackville-West.”

And as a further sidelight on the “Irish” element in the election with its effect on the treaty, in a long and formal communication on the subject of the British Minister’s dismissal, Mr. Phelps, American Minister to Great Britain, wrote to Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, on December 4, 1888: “Perhaps further comment upon these incidents is unnecessary as it is certainly unpleasant. But it is difficult to understand their significance without reference to the circumstances under which they took place.

“The Presidential election in the United States occurred on the 6th November, and was preceded by an earnest and excited canvass. The number of British subjects of Irish descent who have sought and obtained naturalization in the United States under the existing very liberal laws on that subject, is sufficiently large to exercise at the decisive points a very considerable influence upon the result of such an election. A strong appeal had been made throughout the discussion which preceded the election to the prejudices of this body of citizens against the Government of Great Britain. And the President had been persistently charged with being the especial friend of that Government, and with having been controlled in his foreign and domestic policy by British influence. That these charges were without foundation was not enough to prevent them from having serious effect in the quarter to which they were directed and becoming one of the leading topics in the canvass.” The excuse for including all these comments on Lord Sackville-West at this point in the narrative is to illustrate the quality of one of the commissioners with whom Angell and his conferees had to reason.



that various interests wanted them to take up but which were outside the limits of their instructions. These included irritations arising in the commerce of the Great Lakes, especially relating to discriminatory tolls and laws with respect to salvage. An old friend at Burlington wanted Angell to lead Canada to the building of a ship canal from the St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain. Moreover, it soon appeared that the British themselves had come with a set of instructions much broader in scope than those of their American counterparts. They confidently expected to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity, and they were disappointed and grieved to find that the Americans would not even consider the subject. Judge Cooley<sup>7</sup> observed in his personal memoranda: "Mr. Chamberlain had set his heart upon such a treaty; . . . so much so that he seems to feel hurt & wronged when the American Commissioners insist on restricting the negotiations to the Fisheries. Not that our Commissioners would object to a treaty of Reciprocity, but they feel sure it would not at this time be ratified by the Senate, & it would therefore be folly to propose it." While the commission held its first formal session on November 21, it was not until December 7 that the Americans formally rejected the British proposal to consider the subject of reciprocity. It was comforting to Angell to recall that Mr. Phelps had early written of the disposition of Mr. Chamberlain to take up the negotiations with a determination to make them end amicably.<sup>8</sup>

As early as November 26, Angell told Cooley that in conversation he had taken occasion to lay open the American case frankly to Chamberlain and that he thought the latter had received a new insight and an altogether different view of the equities involved. In short, Angell thought that Chamberlain in his heart now believed the Americans were right,<sup>9</sup> and it now, in this view, became a question merely of whether the Canadian, Tupper, would come to their terms. (Sackville-West clearly did not count.) "The Canadians have come here expecting to sell a privilege to the United States; the American Commissioners do not propose to buy anything. The former expected merely to dicker

<sup>7</sup> Cooley and Angell were much together. So much so that their comradeship was early noted by the press. Cooley records with evident entertainment: "The *Free Press* of today contains a clipping from the New York *Sun* descriptive of Prest. Angell & myself, who are said to be great friends but wholly different in characteristics. The President is fond of society, for which I care nothing; he is plump, while I am thin and spare; he is particular about his dress, while I wear a shocking hat & a threadbare coat & so on. It is amusing & has just enough *vraisemblance* to give point to what is said." A passport records Angell's height as five feet seven inches.

<sup>8</sup> Letter from London dated October 29, 1887.

<sup>9</sup> Cooley. Personal memorandum of conversation with Angell, November 26.

about a price; the latter refuse altogether to talk about a purchase.”<sup>10</sup> Angell thought that really the best settlement would be “free fishing and free fish,” but that this would not be acceptable to the Senate.<sup>11</sup> As one correspondent had observed, the trouble was “too many interests fishing in the same hole, and the tackle got tangled.”

Things ran along with meetings two or three times a week. Angell and Cooley went home for Christmas, but returned promptly in 1888. Irritations developed, the British charging that Mr. Bayard had given them to understand that he would accept certain terms that he now refused to abide by. They said that if it had been understood that questions of reciprocity and tariffs would not be considered neither Canada nor England would have been parties to the negotiation.<sup>12</sup> Mr. Bayard's correspondence with Lord Salisbury, which was produced and which refuted these ideas, nevertheless did not stop repeated reference to them. Angell's earlier mentioned views of Chamberlain's real attitude must have been sorely shaken at times. The Americans contended that if the irritations growing out of the fisheries could be settled, giving the countries a chance to live in peace with each other, that would be achievement enough—and anyway it was the only subject they were authorized to talk about. For one thing the determination of what was, in fact, the “three-mile limit” was alone a large question in view of the deeply indented shores of the Maritime Provinces. A great gulf like that of the St. Lawrence presented no serious problems, but what of bays and inlets that widened out into considerable bodies of water, but whose headlands were not far apart? On January 20, Angell told Cooley that there seemed little if any hope of reaching any agreement at all.

As in the Treaty of Peking in 1880 “the fish chewed the bait awhile,” and the next day, January 21, to the surprise of the United States commissioners the other party came forward with proposals conceding almost everything the Americans had asked for. “Why the change,” said Angell to Cooley, “no one can tell, but an agreement seems almost certain.” And on February 10 agreement was reached. Mr. Putnam read Cooley a paper he had prepared to submit to the President with the treaty and explanatory of it. “It is a strong paper,” noted Angell's loyal friend, “but Mr. Angell would have put it in better shape & presented the salient points more clearly.”<sup>13</sup> All the plenipotentiaries ultimately signed, after

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, December 1.

<sup>12</sup> Angell, *Reminiscences*, p. 172, and Cooley memorandum of January 18, 1888.

<sup>13</sup> Cooley memorandum, February 10, 1888.



one more brief dilemma posed by Sir Charles Tupper, on February 14. On the thirteenth Cooley records, "having completed their work, they have been having their photograph taken together."<sup>14</sup>

The last session of the negotiators was adjourned in a spirit of utmost friendliness. They felt that they had removed those sources of irritation along Canada's eastern seaboard which had brought the two countries close to the parting of the ways and had substituted the prospect of friendship and mutual convenience. This is, of course, merely the language of diplomacy, but the British made and the Americans accepted one more proposal which, in the event, proved of the utmost importance in developing the friendly relations toward which they had labored.

This was the proposal that, in view of the near approach of the beginning of a new fishing season before any likely ratification of the treaty, for a period of not more than two years licensed American fishing vessels (and the license would be inexpensive and easy to get) entering Canadian waters were to have the privileges accorded them by the treaty itself. This *modus vivendi*, as time went on and as it was renewed with regularity, accomplished for many years what the treaty itself was intended to do.<sup>15</sup> It was this result that led Angell in 1912 to feel that the benefits sought in the treaty had in fact been achieved.

The President promptly sent the treaty to the Senate, where after the burning of much powder in debate it was at last rejected, on August 21, 1888, without a Republican vote in its favor. So far from the two-thirds favorable majority required, the vote was twenty-seven for ratification and thirty against. The circumstances of the political campaign, already referred to, undoubtedly had much to do with the result. Many of the attacks on the treaty were intemperate and sneering,<sup>16</sup> addressed to the electorate rather than to the merits of the question.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> A fortnight later Bayard wrote Angell, "I sent you today two photo groups in which you hover benevolently over Brother Putnam and myself."

<sup>15</sup> Years later, in 1893, Mr. Bayard in a note acknowledging Angell's congratulations on his appointment as ambassador to Great Britain wrote: "I have just closed a note to Judge Putnam in which referring to the weeks we three sat together forming the Fishery Treaty—and looking steadily down a vista—at the end of which defeat by party bigotry and spite awaited us—yet we did our duty—and 'lo and behold' the *defeated Treaty* has quietly and efficiently done its work."

<sup>16</sup> Senator Hoar, for example, as a milder criticism expressed the belief that "he was not aware that President Angell 'ever saw mackerel until it came from the gridiron.'" *Michigan and the Cleveland Era*, p. 68.

<sup>17</sup> The seriousness with which Minister Phelps regarded the situation comes out in a letter he wrote to Angell, on May 13, before the Republican National Convention nominated Benjamin Harrison instead of James G. Blaine: "If the treaty is rejected

As an example of the arguments employed, able Senator John Sherman was reported in the press as favoring for an alternative to the treaty "union with Canada." There were certain interests which were genuinely fearful of the treaty because of its hint of "free fish" at some future time. But most of the talk on Capitol Hill could be boiled down to opposition to Grover Cleveland and to the development of anything that would win votes for the Republicans in November. The Murchison bombshell, when it exploded, was a godsend to these partisans. It can hardly be believed that the proceedings did much to renew in either Angell or Cooley their old-time fealty to the Republican party.

Within two days after the treaty's rejection, the President sent a message to Congress in which he urged protection for the American interests, which the treaty had sought to provide, by means of retaliatory acts in line with the Senate's authorization of March 3, 1887—except that to do what he now proposed would require additional Congressional action. He suggested acts providing for tolls and penalties for Canadian vessels on the Great Lakes reciprocal to such burdens as Canada imposed on Americans. Still further, he proposed that the transshipment of any goods to or from Canada across American territory be prohibited so long as Canada prohibited shipment of American-caught fish across her territory. In view of the icebound state of the St. Lawrence and of numerous Canadian ports during the winter months, this prohibition could have hurt. Fortunately, the smooth working of events under the *modus vivendi* caused the death of this proposal for lack of nourishment.

Long before this, the Angells had gone home on February 16, leaving Judge Cooley "quite lonely in Washington." He consoled himself by the reflection, "Well, they have had a glorious time here; noticed & caressed & dined on all hands."<sup>18</sup> And after the return to the campus, as the Senate debates ran their irritating course, much salve was spread over Angell's wounds by the numerous friendly, even affectionate letters that came from Bayard and Putnam. Sir Charles Tupper who at times during the negotiations had been a thorn, and Judge J. D. Thompson, Canadian Minister of Justice, wrote letters that were friendly in no merely formal way. They had probably been warmed by the Canadian and English ratifications of the treaty. Justice Thompson noted without comment that Americans were buying bait under their licenses and selling it to the French to whom the sale of bait was not permitted. Judge

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& Blaine elected, we shall have a war with England on the score of these paltry fisheries."

<sup>18</sup> Cooley memorandum.



Cooley wrote expressing the hope that his friend would not find suicide the only course after the rejection. Angell was enough affected by the clamor to cause Judge Cooley to note down during an Ann Arbor interval: "Prest. Angell came in to get historical references. He is proposing to prepare a review article showing that the same talk about a surrender of our interests which the Republicans are now indulging in as regards the Fisheries Treaty has been heard in the case of every important treaty ever made with England, including the Treaty of Independence."<sup>19</sup> If Angell ever wrote the proposed essay, it has not survived.

There were a number of letters from strangers that he preserved. One of these came—though before the Senate's action—from George B. Davis, an army officer who was then teaching law at the United States Military Academy at West Point and who later attained some distinction in the Judge Advocate's Department. The then Captain Davis wrote:

"Apart from the complete and satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties that have proved such an annoyance to our fishing interests, the treaty has greater value, from the point of view of the instructor of International Law, than any instrument of the kind of which I have any knowledge. It illustrates the theory of territorial sovereignty, the doctrine of the three mile limit, the treatment of questions as to headlands and the bodies of water included within them. Indeed there is hardly a point that can arise as to the marginal sea, or any thing connected with it, which cannot be authoritatively illustrated from the text of the treaty. It will, I am sure, prove to be not less useful as an illustration of the rules for the interpretation of treaties;—something which I need not assure you has long been needed."

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, July 11, 1888.

# *Eight Years of University Routine*

## CHAPTER XXIV

*The eight years* after Angell's return from the Fishery Commission service were spent in peace and comfort. There were presidential problems, but they were not much more puzzling than those of one who journeys through country new to him but not unfamiliar in its general characteristics, and with highway markers easily read and followed. Experience had taught him to read the signs.

No more were there bickering Regents. His Board through all the remaining years of his service respected him and grew steadily in that affection and trust which makes leadership easy. The Regents who stayed were unified in friendship for him and in undivided devotion to the University. The new men who came to the Board easily fell into step, and the spirit they brought to their duties harmonized with what they found. The vigorous Regents Frank Fletcher and Levi Barbour neither irritated—nor were they annoyed by—the experienced conservatism of William J. Cocker and Dr. Herman Kiefer. As Angell remembered the years immediately following 1875 and as over a decade later he looked about him, he must have thanked God and taken courage. Not until the "Conference Question" arising toward the very close of his presidency, was his Board "split"—and even then the Regents continued personally friendly—they all spoke to each other.

It was still, as it almost always has been, a time for economy. But throughout the period it became plainer that the Regents felt themselves able to meet a growing fraction of the most pressing needs as these in never-ending procession came before them; until the panic of 1893 "money was easier," and recovery thereafter was fairly prompt. Even in the hard times of June, 1893, the Regents boldly authorized the



employment of "a stenographer for the University at a salary not exceeding \$900 [per year]."

Early in 1889 there had been completed—within the appropriation of \$30,000, it is worth noting—a two-story laboratory building for hygiene (second floor) and physics (first floor). This building, immediately south of the General Library, still stands. For two months' services as superintendent of construction, Professor Henry S. Carhart was paid \$100.

The hospitals were ever a most pressing problem. They occupied campus space along North University Avenue, where the Natural Science Building has long stood. Originally, they had been two of the four "professors' houses." Long wooden extensions had been added to the square brick structures to make hospital wards. At first only one such hospital wing had been built. But the scheme of sharing the wards of a single building between the two schools of medicine proved to be as impractical as the housing of two Christian sects under a single church roof. A similar addition had been made to the Homeopathic Department Building, and thus, in sight of each other but not touching, the two divisions of the healing art operated (in two senses) in peace.<sup>1</sup> These one-story, wooden ward buildings of cheap construction were products of the theory that in time any hospital would become so impregnated with disease that it should be abandoned and, presumably, burned. In his report for 1888 the President said, "Our hospital buildings were not intended for long use."

There was constant agitation for removal of all or part of the Medical Department to Detroit. This controversy ultimately went so far as to cause dismissal by the Regents in 1889 of two highly respected members of the medical faculty, Donald Maclean, surgery, and George E. Frothingham, ophthalmology. These long-time teachers were residents of Detroit and could not bring themselves to accept quietly the Regents' decision to keep the department intact in Ann Arbor, although the hospitals in Detroit, the advantages of which were so emphasized as aids to medical education, were far from deserving unqualified approval and very likely could never have been brought under exclusively University control. In his annual report of October, 1888, the President set forth a ten-point statement of the disadvantages of cleaving any part of the University's work from the main body itself. Even the partisans of re-

<sup>1</sup> Even so, in June, 1892, in the hope of stemming a tide of mutual suspicion of laxity or unfairness, the Regents voted that each Medical School might have its representatives present at student examinations conducted by the other.

moval had to admit that conditions under which patients were treated in the Hospitals had been somewhat improved when in June, 1879, an amphitheater was built in the Hospital itself, thus obviating the necessity of carrying patients across the campus from the Hospital to the amphitheater in the Medical Building (where the Randall Laboratory of Physics now stands) and, after their operations, of carrying them back again to the ward. "The discomfort and exposure and consequent danger to life have been greater than it was pleasant to think of. The enlarged and improved accommodations for the patients are a source of great satisfaction." So read the President's report of October, 1879.

One result of the agitation for removal was to awaken the citizens of Ann Arbor to their own stake in avoiding the proposed "dismemberment" of the institution. At the Regents meeting of July 20, 1888, four of Ann Arbor's most respected citizens, Judge W. D. Harriman and Messrs. E. B. Pond, A. W. Hamilton, and Ottmar Eberbach appeared before the Board and asked whether, if the citizens should provide a lying-in hospital, the University would accept charge of it and maintain it. This proposal was accepted later in the meeting. However, in following months another proposal came from the city council itself. Still later, in 1889, the legislature appropriated \$50,000 on condition that the city of Ann Arbor should contribute \$25,000 toward the erection of a hospital. In his report for 1888-1889 the President said: "The citizens of Ann Arbor voted almost unanimously to authorize the gift on which the legislative appropriation was conditioned. The vote was, ayes 936; nays, 10. When we remember that the city has only about ten thousand inhabitants, and that among them are hardly any men of large wealth, it must be conceded that their act is one of great generosity. A gift proportionally great by a city as populous as Detroit would be more than half a million dollars." The legislature of 1891 voted \$25,000 to complete the cost of the site and the equipment of the two buildings that were put up on Catherine Street overlooking the valley of the Huron. Both homeopaths and "regulars" were temporarily satisfied, with accommodations respectively for approximately forty and sixty-four patients.

The Regents were so well pleased with the accomplishments the new hospital buildings had made possible that they ordered the printing of two thousand copies of the report of work done in 1892-1893. But for financial reasons, a backward step had to be taken in the summer of 1895, when after experience with deficits resulting from summer opera-





The Angell-Cooley group

Left to right: David Horton, Mary E. Horton Cooley, Betsy Carey Horton, Thomas M. Cooley, Thomas Angell, Fanny Cooley Angell, Alexis Angell, Sarah Angell, Mme Angell, James B. Angell, Sarah Caswell Angell





The Fishery Commission

Left to right: Sir Lionel Sackville-West, John B. Moore, W. L. Putnam, James B. Angell, Thomas F. Bayard, Sir Charles Tupper, Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, J. H. G. Bergne



tion, the Board reluctantly closed the hospitals for the 1895 vacation period—until September 15. The results other than financial, however, were utterly unsatisfactory: almost no patients were available until long after there was need of them for teaching students in the fall. The President commented on another phase: "There was severe disappointment in many parts of the State, whence patients desired to come during the summer months for treatment. These expressions of disappointment showed how widely the beneficent influences of this charitable institution, for such it is, extends." Since one more experiment in 1896, the hospitals have never again been closed, day or night.

In November, 1891, as a part of the hospital development, the medical faculty had been authorized to establish a training school for nurses, but the number of pupils was to be limited to eight—indeed a cautious advance. Another development affecting the hospital—unfavorably from every modern standard—was the building of a stable for three horses adjacent to the Homeopathic Hospital. Some delay ensuing, at the following meeting Superintendent Reeve was admonished to carry out the order at once, and given \$200 with which to do it. This structure with some worsening alterations and with its odors and rats continued to deface the campus until the arrival of Regent William L. Clements in 1910. He soon brought about its replacement by the lofty staff floating the American flag.

In his report for 1889–1890 the President raised the question of the pressing need of means for physical education—an athletic field and a gymnasium. In spite of some recurring delays these needs were met sooner than some others have been. In fact before the close of the meeting at which he read his report, purchase for \$3,000 of ten acres of level land on South State Street was authorized. This tract became Regents Field, to be renamed Ferry Field some years later after Dexter M. Ferry's gift greatly enlarged the expanse. In the spring of 1891 steps were taken to fit the field for sports, and by that time Joshua Waterman, of Detroit, a Yale graduate, had offered \$20,000 for a gymnasium, provided only that an equal sum should be subscribed by others. In overenthusiasm work on the building was started before money was available to complete it. The persistent personal solicitations of the President and others were not largely productive, but by the fall of 1893 enough was in hand to put up walls and roof. It was in this period, while the building stood bare and empty, that one of the student publications commented in humorous discouragement:

“The Gym is a Gym—  
But not a Gymdandy—  
Though for some future class  
It may come in handy;  
Not for you or for me,  
Or for Six or for Seven  
But somewhere around  
Two thousand and 'leven.”

Ultimately, Waterman Gymnasium was finished and paid for in plenty of time for use not merely by the classes of 1896 and 1897, but by that of 1895 as well. Thanks largely to the generosity of Regents Barbour and Hebard the women's building also went up and was in use by 1898. In that year it was named Barbour Gymnasium in honor of the principal donor.

In 1890 the Regents spent \$21,000 on an addition to the little Chemistry Laboratory, which in 1857 had been, it is believed, the first such laboratory in an American state university. During 1891–1892 several other campus buildings were considerably enlarged. With removal of the hospitals, the dental classes were transferred to one of the vacated buildings, and the classes in engineering subjects were given the quarters vacated by the College of Dentistry on South University Avenue. This structure, known for years thereafter as the Engineering Building, was originally one of the four “professors' houses.” It was considerably enlarged to accommodate its new tenants and was used for many years until torn down in President Burton's time to make room for the Clements Library. Meanwhile, in 1904 it came to be completely overshadowed by the great brick structure at the southeast corner of the campus that was for a long time to be known as the “New” Engineering Building. But as universities develop, buildings and professors alike are “new,” then “old,” and ultimately but a memory. The (West) Engineering Building has now become old, but its design and construction will make it endure for many years to come.

In the decade of the nineties the Law Building was almost doubled in size—at a cost of nearly \$100,000, while the half-century old President's house was renovated and repaired and, to the admiration of all, wired for electricity. The Regents even began to consider the possibility of a central heating plant “to be large enough to provide ample room for the necessary electrical machinery to light all the buildings on the campus.” In June, 1894, a contract was let for the building and tunnels for the



heating plant, and the work was completed by fall of the same year. The lighting plant had to wait about three years.

In 1891, largely by gifts from the Newberry family of Detroit, there was erected across from University Hall the stone building that for many years served as headquarters of the Students' Christian Association. And in 1894 the University Musical Society purchased and presented to the University the great organ built for the Columbian Exposition. Named later in memory of Henry Simmons Frieze, this instrument, once rebuilt and enlarged, has continued to be a vital benefaction to the campus for sixty years, first in University Hall and then in Hill Auditorium.<sup>2</sup> In June, 1893, plans were authorized for a new recitation building to meet the pressing needs of the Literary Department, and for an "administration building" to house the offices of the president, regents, secretary, treasurer, departmental deans, and others. As it was to be more than fifty years before an administration building would rise on the campus, it must be admitted that in this field the University authorities of 1893 took a long look into the future. But the recitation building eventuated in 1894 as Tappan Hall. In its large lecture room the President thereafter taught his classes in International Law and the History of Treaties.

In these eight years preceding the celebration of 1896 it was noticeable that more and more members of the faculty were realizing the advantage of foreign study and were going abroad in increasing numbers even though "sabbatical leaves" were a long distance off. The best the Regents felt they could do in this field was to grant leaves on condition the absentee would pay his substitute. With the co-operation of colleagues in

<sup>2</sup> In January, 1895, Andrew D. White wrote from Italy: "I do not know when I have been more satisfied and, at the same time, more deeply touched than by the document recently received from you regarding the ceremony of 'inaugurating' the great organ at the University.

"I remember how, on my last visit with our dear Frieze to the spot, he pointed out that great recess and said 'Some day we will have a great organ there.' I little dreamed how it was to turn out. It is pathetic to think that a realization of his dreams should have come too late to enable us to enjoy his pleasure, but it is a satisfaction to see that his hope and prophecy have been fulfilled.

"I was very sorry that I could not be there and especially that I could not hear your references to Frieze which, even in the meagre report, affected me deeply.

"I know, in a general way, about as much of the great church organs of the world as any man within my acquaintance. It has been my good luck to hear every organ of any importance in Europe and America, including those at St. George's Hall, Liverpool, St. Paul's, London, Ulm, Freiburg, and Haarlem, and I am convinced from careful study of the statements you sent me that you have in many respects the best of them all."

teaching the more advanced courses, the substitute frequently turned out to be a teacher of low rank and low pay. Thus, men abroad for study often had very substantial help toward their expenses.

In 1893, moved in part by Angell's address to the state legislature,<sup>3</sup> that body at last increased the mill-tax rate from one-twentieth of a mill—not to the one-fifth hoped for—but to one-sixth. The increase provided that the University should thereafter meet its needs for buildings out of the difference between the proceeds of the tax and the actual operating costs. This arrangement was a venture into the dark for the University. But it was certain to produce at once a larger operating income (in the first year the mill tax proceeds rose from \$70,625 to \$263,666); it was certain, moreover, to give greater freedom to the Regents, permitting them to plan on a known income; and with the reasonably expected increase in the valuation of the state, they had a justifiable hope that increases in income would keep pace with arising needs. Such risks as were inherent might reasonably be left to solutions of the future—including the right, which President Hutchins invoked two decades later, to go back to the legislature for special appropriations. The first transfer to the "Building Fund" from the increased receipts was made in January, 1894, in the amount of \$55,000. For twenty years, with increases to one-fourth of a mill in 1899, and to three-eighths of a mill in 1907, the mill tax met the expenditures of the University for operation and for capital expansions—barring such gifts as were received in the form of the Gymnasium, Alumni Memorial Hall, Palmer Ward, and Hill Auditorium. The constitutional independence of the University from legislative control, as determined by the Supreme Court, will be treated in a later chapter, but it is obvious that fewer clashes would occur under the over-all mill tax support than if numerous requests for this and that appeared on the calendar of each legislative session.

Early in 1894, the President and Regents sent a special committee on a visit to eastern points of interest. The committee consisted of Regents Cocker and Barbour and Messrs. Knowlton and Mechem, professors

<sup>3</sup> President Gilman of Johns Hopkins wrote to Angell on March 27, 1893: "I congratulate you heartily on the action of your Legislature. *The reflex influence of an academic oration is rarely so effective!* (Italics supplied.) The addition of \$132,000 to your income is worth more than two and a half millions of additional capital, so that you have really received a greater gift than the sum which the newspapers have recently, (but I think prematurely) attributed to Harvard."

It was in the course of the state-wide effort to influence favorable legislative action to meet the University's need for funds that Angell first began to think seriously how he could "inaugurate a movement for securing large private gifts." Letter to Ralph Stone, then a resident of Grand Rapids.



of law. A prime object of the quest was to find a prospective dean for the Law Department. They came back united on Harry Burns Hutchins, formerly of the Michigan faculty and for the past seven years associate dean of law at Cornell. Early in September following, he was elected to the Michigan post on terms he had indicated as acceptable to him.

There was another important result of the committee's journey. Regent Cocker, as head of the Board's Finance Committee, had been deeply interested, with Regent Barbour, in the business practices of Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, and Yale, and he examined with considerable care the methods these institutions employed to secure the most advantageous use of their funds. He prepared a searching report on his findings which on his return he read to his colleagues at their meeting of March 21. In it he dealt particularly with:

"(1) The advisability of making up, at a stated time, an annual budget.

"(2) The method followed in ascertaining the actual needs of the different departments.

"(3) The *modus operandi* of purchasing supplies and apparatus."

After considering Cocker's report his colleagues first of all gave him a vote of obviously genuine thanks, and then adopted his resolution providing for the careful and sympathetic preparation each spring of a budget that should govern, by prescribed methods, the institution's expenditures for the following year. This was the beginning of the University's planned disposition each year of its carefully estimated income. It did not solve all the problems, but no longer did the President and his Board blunder into embarrassing financial situations that might have been foreseen. At the June meeting following, Cocker presented a budget for 1894-1895 as prepared under the President's supervision, and it was unanimously adopted. It was a simple little affair from the viewpoint of today, but it was an improvement over anything with a similar objective that had gone before. Its offsetting totals were \$372,500 and its reserve fund for contingencies was \$3,178, a little less than 1 per cent. At a succeeding meeting in the same month, impressed by gifts that had come to the University and the responsibilities of their trusteeship, the Regents named an investment committee for the care, in particular, of these funds. This committee consisted of the President as chairman, and Regents Barbour, Cocker, Hebard, and Dean.

Even earlier, in October, 1892, the Regents had at last felt themselves able to answer the pathetic hope of the President in his report of October, 1885, that salaries might be restored to what they had been before the

reduction of 1878.<sup>4</sup> Thus, fourteen years after salaries had been cut they were increased to figures well in advance of what they had been before the reduction. Regent Whitman submitted and the Board adopted without a dissenting vote the following proposal:

"That the President's salary be \$6,000, and that the ordinary salary of full Professors in the Literary Department, of the Secretary and of the Treasurer, shall be \$2,500; but that after five years' continuous service the salary shall be \$2,700, and that after ten years' service it shall be \$3,000, which shall be the maximum salary paid." Under this plan eight professors came at once into the \$3,000 rank, while all the rest could see themselves in this class at a fixed and not too distant date.

In his statement to his colleagues Whitman urged prompt action to prevent more men who would much prefer to remain here, other things being equal, from following the example of those who had chosen \$4,000 elsewhere in preference to \$2,200 here. Charles Kendall Adams, Henry Wade Rogers, and William Harold Payne had left for the presidencies, respectively, of Cornell, Northwestern, and Nashville. Among able men who had gone from the Michigan campus for other than presidencies of colleges or universities, had been Moses Coit Tyler, Charles M. Gayley, Harry B. Hutchins (though he was now returning), John M. Schaeberle, Henry Sewall, T. J. Wrampelmeier (Swift), Mark W. Harrington, James C. Watson, Charles N. Jones, John W. Langley, Calvin B. Cady, William H. Howell; and John Dewey and John J. Abel were to follow almost immediately.

Death had created other vacancies. As early as 1883 came that of the Reverend Benjamin F. Cocker, whose parlous early life in the South Seas had read like a wild adventure story, though ultimately merging, almost incredibly into the calm of a Methodist pulpit and a professorship of philosophy. He was the father of Regent William J. Cocker. In 1887 Edward Olney and Dr. Alonzo B. Palmer died, leaving vacant respectively the chairs of mathematics and of pathology and clinical medicine. In 1888 occurred the deaths of Byron W. Cheever, metallurgy, Elisha Jones, Latin, and Edwin S. Dunster, obstetrics. In 1889 the University lost George S. Morris, philosophy; in 1891, Alexander Winchell, geology; and in 1894, Corydon L. Ford, who for forty years had taught anatomy and physiology to medical students, who cherished for him an ever-growing affection. Undoubtedly, among all these, the greatest sense of personal loss—the grief that comes with the knowledge that one faces an emptiness that can never cease to be such—came to Angell with the

<sup>4</sup> P. 169.



passing of Henry S. Frieze on December 7, 1889. It was a bereavement unequaled outside his own family<sup>5</sup> since the loss of Lewis Diman in 1881, and his close association with Frieze had been even longer than that with Diman. Angell included his address at the memorial services for Frieze in his *Selected Addresses*, and said of him in his annual report for 1889-1890:

"For five and thirty years he had served this Institution with a fidelity and devotion never surpassed by any one of the many noble men, whose names adorn the roll of her Professors. No man since the days of Dr. Tappan has done more, perhaps none so much, to shape the policy of the University and to insure its success. His last days were made happy by the spectacle of its prosperity. He has gone to his rest, rewarded with the gratitude and affection of the many pupils who had been fortunate enough to sit under his teaching. The results of his inspiring labors and the memory of his beautiful life will long remain as the priceless possession of the University."<sup>6</sup>

Added to the burden of personal sorrow for friends gone, each one of these deaths—and resignations—during the eight years meant for the President the responsibility of finding a suitable successor.

New men whom he brought to the faculty in this period included: De Nançrède and Darling in surgery, Kelsey, Rolfe, and Sanders in Latin, Carhart, Reed, and Guthe in physics, McMurrich in anatomy, Cushny in materia medica, Lombard in physiology, Russell in geology, Hall in astronomy, Dock in medicine, Martin in obstetrics, Freer, Gomberg, and E. D. Campbell in chemistry, Carrow in ophthalmology, Mechem in law, Stanley in music, Hinsdale in pedagogy, Hempl in philology, Scott in rhetoric, Craig in Semitics, Hench and Winkler in German, Novy in bacteriology, Huber in histology, Newcombe in botany, Worcester in animal morphology, Schlotterbeck in pharmacy, Taylor in economics, Patterson in electrical engineering, Lloyd in philosophy, Dow in history, and Levi and Effinger in French.

In these eight years the work required for the several bachelor's degrees was equalized—or was sought to be; the medical course was lengthened to four years and the course in law to three; the seniors of 1894 set up the first of the class scholarships; courses of lectures were given in neigh-

<sup>5</sup> On December 7, 1894, his mother, Amey Aldrich Angell, died at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Peter Collier, in Geneva, New York, at the age of eighty-seven. She was buried in Providence.

<sup>6</sup> In a letter to Charles Kendall Adams, Angell wrote on December 13, 1889: "I feel as though a large part of my own life were cleft from me. You know how largely I confided in him & leaned on him. No one can take his place for me."

boring towns presaging the University's extension work of today. Afternoon vespers conducted by the President, with assistance from Professor Stanley's choir and the Frieze organ, took the place of the former chapel exercises.

In 1891 Angell was invited to become chief of the Department of Liberal Arts of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. This he declined, though President Eliot telegraphed him that "every educational person here hopes you will accept World's Fair offer. Ask abundant assistants." At the World's Historical Congress held in connection with the exposition, Angell as charter member President of the American Historical Association spoke on "The Inadequate Recognition of Diplomats by Historians." Professor B. A. Hinsdale and former Professor M. C. Tyler were also on this program. Mrs. Angell was a member of the Women's Board Executive Committee of the exposition and worked at it diligently and in detail. The President spoke at the dedication of the state of Michigan Building. The University prepared an exhibit for the fair. One result of all this was the gift by the authorities of the exposition after it closed, of two large murals by Gari Melchers, "The Arts of War" and "The Arts of Peace." For a time these were affixed to the walls of old University Hall, where they never seemed to fit the available space. For many years since then they have adorned appropriately designed locations at either end of the large reading room in the General Library.

Somewhat earlier Mr. H. E. Scudder of Houghton, Mifflin & Company tried unsuccessfully to persuade Angell to write a biography of Roger Williams. Scudder wrote that he "had in mind the desirability of asking one who spoke the Rhode Island language to write the book."

The first summer courses were given to eighty-eight students, mostly teachers, in 1894. The enterprise was largely a personal venture by a number of faculty members. Although under "University auspices" the compensation of the teachers was linked to fees received. It was not until 1900, after a summer registration of 263 in 1899, that the Regents took over entirely the responsibility of the summer work and gave it the new name of "summer session."

In 1894-1895 the President had a personal part in the redesigning of the University seal, which superseded the old "Minerva, Webster's-spelling-book" model and which has been used ever since. At the time of Angell's death the *Detroit News Tribune* in a special edition said: "Dr. Angell finally selected the [legend] now inscribed on the seal: 'Artes, scientia, veritas,' building the whole motto about the word 'veritas,' which indeed is the whole substructure of his life."



Distinguished visitors, always coming to the campus, required entertainment. Henry M. Stanley of African fame was one. Grover Cleveland, in the interim between his two presidential terms, gave the Washington's Birthday address in 1892 and was noisily greeted by the students as well as in more dignified manner by the University faculty and by the citizens of maturity in Ann Arbor and of the state. A dinner was given him at the President's house. His address in the afternoon was a foreshadowing of his re-election to a second term that fall, and, ultimately, his experiences on this visit undoubtedly had much to do with the thickness of the volume, *Michigan and the Cleveland Era*,<sup>7</sup> published over a half-century later.

On August 24, 1889, formal notice came from the Secretary of State requesting suitable welcome by the University to the delegates of the International American Congress, who were touring the country. Proper attention to such a group posed new and unfamiliar problems, and in a letter to President Adams of Cornell, Angell plaintively observed: "I do not know how they came to pitch on us." These South and Central Americans received a welcome from the students fully as resounding as that of Mr. Cleveland and came to the campus from the railway station through a double line of human noise-producers. At ceremonies in University Hall, as the President was naming for the visitors the several departments of the institution, he came to the Department of Law. With his utterance of this concluding word, pandemonium broke loose. As soon as the uproar permitted, he addressed the "Laws" with "You are not

<sup>7</sup> Ed. by Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde. This book of 372 pages was published in an edition of 10,000 copies (Univ. Mich. Press, 1948), with funds largely supplied by Earl D. Babst, '93, LL.B. '94, LL.D. '51. It contains biographical sketches by competent authorities of thirteen Michigan alumni and faculty members who served under appointment by President Cleveland during one or both of his terms of office. In addition there is a chapter covering Michigan alumni in the Congress, including 182 individuals, and a second chapter listing alumni in the judiciary. This latter roster includes seventy-two alumni who have held posts in the federal courts, with the names of 101 alumni who have served in state courts of last resort.

Besides Angell, the biographees include Professor Henry C. Adams, chief statistician of Interstate Commerce Commission, Thomas M. Cooley, chairman of Interstate Commerce Commission, Don M. Dickinson, '67 law, Postmaster General, Lawrence Maxwell, '74, Solicitor General, J. Sterling Morton, '54, Secretary of Agriculture, Alfred Noble, '70, member of Nicaragua Canal Commission, Thomas W. Palmer, '49, Minister to Spain, William E. Quinby, '58, Minister to the Netherlands, John M. B. Sill, '70 *hon.*, Minister to Korea, Henry T. Thurber, '74, private secretary to President Cleveland, Edwin F. Uhl, '62, Minister to Germany, Edwin Willits, '55, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Mr. Cleveland's address of February 22, 1892, is also included.

the whole University," which set off cheers from all the other departments. When this had sufficiently subsided, he spread his salve over the wounds of the fledgling lawyers with, "But we think a good deal of you nevertheless." He lost no friends. At Louisville some months later, the *Courier-Journal* interviewed these delegates on the subject of education as a duty of the state: "Being asked what in this country had most impressed them, they replied, decisively, 'The great boys' college at Ann Arbor.' They referred to the gathering in University Hall and described the enthusiasm. 'But,' said they, 'when their honored president raised his hand, there was instant quiet.' The excellent discipline and control of the great body of students was to them a matter of wonder and admiration."

In April, 1891, with the approval and financial support of the Regents, the faculty began the publication of the *University Record*. Its purpose was to report "upon the educational and scientific work done under the University's auspices, to give outlines of courses, lectures, and dissertations, to comment upon the current news of the University, and to keep the institution in touch with its alumni and the secondary schools of the State." The publication continued on a quarterly basis until February, 1895, always with a far greater emphasis on solid information than upon entertainment.<sup>8</sup>

A tragedy that greatly depressed Angell occurred on the evening of November 12, 1890. A squad of the Ann Arbor Militia Company marched to the house of a member of the company who had just been married to give the newlyweds an old-fashioned charivari. This house was in a part of the city thickly populated by students as well as by citizens—on Division Street between Jefferson and William streets. The militiamen jovially fired several blank volleys, with the immediate result that students came running from every direction. There apparently was no thought thus far on either side but that of a good time for all. However, following some ill-timed words from the sergeant in command, this spirit was at once changed. When the militia started to march away, they were jeered and closely crowded by the students until the troops turned and with clubbed guns charged the crowd. During the melee a student was struck a blow on the head which resulted in his death early in the following morning. Feeling between city and campus ran very high, par-

<sup>8</sup> The *University Record* took on a new lease of life in February, 1938, and has thenceforth had continuous monthly publication. Its modern editors in their choice of subject matter and in their use of pictures evince a broader view of what are proper fields of the institution than did earlier editors.



ticularly as this affair seemed to many the culmination of a number of disorders of evenings immediately preceding. The Chicago alumni proposed resolutions with the purpose of raising a fund to secure some specially able attorney to assist in the prosecution of the eight militiamen, including Sergeant Granger, who were arrested. Ultimately, however, in the following summer, the prosecuting attorney dropped the case, largely through inability to determine who had struck the fatal blow. It is pleasant for one who knew Sergeant Ross Granger to remember that he lived to become one of Ann Arbor's most respected citizens, though he doubtless never erased from memory that tragic evening.

In his report for 1891 the President introduced its last ten pages thus: "It is now twenty years since I began my official connection with this institution. It has occurred to me that it might be instructive and encouraging to mark some of the changes which have occurred in the University in that period and to glance at the contrast between its condition in 1871 and its condition in 1891. I trust I may be acquitted in advance of any purpose by such a comparison to commend my own services. No one knows better than I how little they have had to do with assuring the growth which we are to observe. That growth is due in small degree to the wisdom and labors of any one man. It is due rather to the hearty and devoted co-operation of many, including regents, teachers, students, graduates and other faithful friends, and to the generous support accorded by the State of Michigan."

A few examples of progress were: "In 1871 there were 57 courses of instruction. . . . In the last calendar, no less than 378." "There was then no laboratory but the Chemical, whereas now we have Physical, Zoölogical, Botanical, Histological, Morphological, Physiological, Hygienic, and Engineering Laboratories, open to collegiate students. The laboratory method of teaching science has very largely supplanted the method of teaching merely by text-book or by lecture or by both combined. . . . [The] use of the elective system has conduced to the interest, heartiness, and success of the work of students. . . . [The undergraduate students] are younger by a full year or more on the average when they come here," in spite of higher entrance requirements. This saving of a year in the life of each he attributed in great part to the bettering of the high schools. "The morals and manners and spirit of good order are better now than they were then. . . . Not that our University community has reached sainthood. . . ." In 1871 there were six graduate students; in 1890-1891 there were ninety-five.

"While we cannot but be gratified by the growth of this University

during the last twenty years, we also observe with great satisfaction that there has been a rapid development of the State Universities generally throughout the West. Their progress, and we may say in the case of almost every one their assured success, are proofs that the principle on which this Institution was founded, is sound." It must be "reasonably certain that the great universities of the West and Southwest are as a rule to be those established and supported by the State. They have all frequently and gratefully testified to the helpful influence of this University upon their life. They have in large degree followed our methods. In their success and in their great promise we can heartily rejoice. From their increasing strength we also draw strength."

Near the end of the report he emphasizes the thorough consideration which had preceded every change made by the Literary Department faculty, and by inference, by all of the faculties. No step had been taken, however long and wearisome the discussion, until practical unanimity had been reached.

In reading over the mere catalogue of the things done in the period of these eight years it is not to be thought that the President did them all, or originated them all, or alone cultivated them all to fruition. But it is to be remembered that none of them happened without his attention and his thought. And it should not be forgotten that some of life's most tiring hours may be those spent merely in listening.<sup>9</sup>

The President guided most of these developments through multitudinous hours of discussion and argument. Everybody wanted his approval of their projects and talked with him about them. In free nations every group charged with responsibilities has a seemingly boundless capacity for talk, whether city councils, legislatures, Congress, women's clubs. If college faculties are no exception, the fact may be attributed to the unusually penetrating minds of their members and to their love of exact truth and perfection, however long and devious the way thither may be.<sup>10</sup> The days of the President, year after year, were filled with questions concerning enterprises such as have been mentioned, and where

<sup>9</sup> When Nicholas Longworth gave the Commencement address here in 1927, he occupied himself for a moment after his speech with looking over the subjects of the theses presented by candidates for the doctorate in philosophy or science. Suddenly he put his finger on one title and whispered to the man next to him, "If I am re-elected Speaker of the House, I'm going to have one of those things even if it costs a thousand dollars!" The title to which he pointed was "An Apparatus for the Absorption of Gas."

<sup>10</sup> The needle-pointed wit of Professor Wenley's "The Diary of a 'Prof.,"" republished in the *Alumnus* (Feb., 1904), from the *Inlander*, presents in lively fashion the place of long discussions in faculty meetings and elsewhere in a professor's life.



one idea was approved, many had to be rejected. This demanded of him patient listening, careful pondering, and wise decisions, as well as the final grace of tact in communicating with those who were disappointed.

In these periods Angell found relaxation in two trips to Europe. The first, already mentioned, in the summer of 1886 with Mrs. Angell, was purely for rest and recreation, with division of time between London and the cathedral towns.

The second was in 1891, when the old travel partnership with Rowland Hazard was renewed. Both were delegates to the first International Congregational Council, though after the adjournment of the council they visited the medicinal springs in Waldeck and wound up at the Wagner Festival at Bayreuth. In London he felt that he proved for himself the proposition advanced to him by Henry James: "Here one sees many men of very marked character." From that city he wrote to his son-in-law, Andrew C. McLaughlin:

"We have given much more attention to the Council than I expected—and for two reasons; first I found I had not quite the old interest in seeing again the sights, and secondly, the papers and discussions have been much more interesting than I expected. Dr. Dale of Birmingham, the President, gave a magnificent address, which I have sent to Alexis. Principal Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Oxford, & Dr. Brown, the biographer of Bunyan, are with Dale, the most interesting Englishmen. The conservative theologians from our side are somewhat astonished & disturbed at the liberal views on Inspiration & Eschatology & conditions of church membership held by the Englishmen.

"I had a most interesting visit to the Foreign Office. Mr. Bergne [friend of the Fisheries days] took us to Sir Ed. Herstlet, who is the greatest authority on Treaties I know of, & he showed us the originals of many of [the] most important European Treaties, that of Vienna of 1815, that of Paris of 1856, &c. He took us where not even members of Parliament are permitted to rummage, the cases of bound volumes of diplomatic correspondence, to show us their methods.

"We dined with the Winsors [Justin Winsor of Harvard]. He spoke with his usual interest of you & said he had seen some favorable notices of the 'Cass' (biography by McLaughlin). I hope you have also. Lady Hart with whom we lunched asked after you. Tell Lois this story she told me. Sir Robert, not being able to attend a party at the Br. Legation in Peking sent his band & directed them to play the 'Daisy Polka' written by Bruce. He then went out on his piazza & heard it faintly wafted over on the evening air & was glad. So may she hear my best wishes & love wafted over the sea."

# *The Independence of the University*<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER XXV

*A*way back in 1840 a "select committee" was appointed by the Michigan legislature to report on features that should have weight in any consideration of the state's new University. This committee reported:

"No state institution in America has prospered as well as independent colleges with equal, and often with less, means. Why they have not may be ascribed, in part, to the following causes: They have not been guided by that oneness of purpose and singleness of aim (essential to their prosperity) that others have whose trustees are a permanent body—men chosen for their supposed fitness for that very office, and who, having become acquainted with their duties, can and are disposed to pursue a steady course, which inspires confidence and insures success, to the extent of their limited means. State institutions on the contrary, have fallen into the hands of the several legislatures, fluctuating bodies of men, chosen with reference to their supposed qualifications for other duties than cherishing literary institutions. When legislatures have legislated directly for colleges, their measures have been as fluctuating as the changing materials of which the legislatures were composed. When they have acted through a board of trustees, under the show of giving a representation to all, they have appointed men of such dissimilar and discordant characters and views that they never could act in concert; so that, while supposed to act for and represent everybody, they, in fact, have not and could not act for anybody.

<sup>1</sup> Much of the material in the present chapter has appeared in the author's *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Univ. Mich. Press, 1951). The events here again related are those which ultimately resulted in the University's undisputed freedom from control by authorities other than those elected directly by the people of Michigan expressly for the understanding government and fostering care of the University.



“Again, legislatures, wishing to retain all the power of the state in their own hands, as if they alone were competent or disposed to act for the general good, have not been willing to appoint trustees for a length of time sufficient for them to become acquainted with their duties, to become interested in the cause which they were appointed to watch over, and feel the deep responsibility of the trust committed to them. A new board of trustees, like a legislature of new members, not knowing well what to do, generally begins by undoing and disorganizing all that has been done before. At first they dig up the seed a few times, to see that it is going to come up; and, after it appears above the surface, they must pull it up, to see that the roots are sound; they must pull it up again, to see if there is sufficient root to support so vigorous branches; then lop off the branches, for fear they will exhaust the root; and then pull it up again to see why it looks so sickly and pining, and finally to see if they can discover what made it die. And, as these several operations are performed by successive hands, no one can be charged with the guilt of destroying the valuable tree. Whilst state institutions have been, through the jealousy of state legislatures, thus sacrificed to the impatience and petulance of a heterogeneous and changeable board of trustees, whose term of office is so short that they have not time to discover their mistakes, retrace their steps, and correct their errors, it is not surprising that state universities have hitherto, almost without exception, failed to accomplish, in proportion to their means, the amount of good that was expected from them, and much less than colleges in their neighborhood, patronized by the religious public, watched over by a board of trustees of similar qualifications for duty, and holding the office permanently, that they may profit by experience.

“The argument by which legislatures have hitherto convinced themselves that it was their duty to legislate universities to death is this: ‘It is a state institution, and we are the direct representatives of the people, and therefore it is expected of us; it is our right. The people have an interest in this thing, and we must attend to it.’ As if, because a university belongs to the people, that were reason why it should be dosed to death for fear it would be sick, if left to be nursed, like other institutions, by its immediate guardians. Thus has state after state, in this American Union, endowed universities and then, by repeated contradictory and over legislation, torn them to pieces with the same facility as they do the statute book, and for the same reason, because they have the right.”<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, these views were not controlling on numerous occasions,

<sup>2</sup> *House Documents*, 2, Session of 1840.

such as in the legislative investigations and other activities in connection with the Rose-Douglas imbroglio and the homeopathic discords. *But there they were!* And ultimately they emerged into acceptance as the law of the state. Their thesis became embedded in the fundamental law itself. In the words of the Constitution of 1850: "The Board of Regents shall have the general supervision of the University and the direction and control of all expenditures from the University interest fund."<sup>3</sup> This fund, aside from student fees, then and for years later, made up all the money the institution had for its support. The Constitution of 1908 at the very close of Angell's term of office renewed and amplified those provisions by giving the Regents "general supervision of the University and the direction and control of *all* (italics supplied) expenditures from the University funds."

This later Constitution also continued the Board of Regents itself, unchanged in its composition from the earlier days, except that the Superintendent of Public Instruction was added to the Board, with the right to speak but not to vote. This has always been the status of the President, who presides but does not vote. The constitutional corporation known as "The Regents of the University of Michigan" consists now as for many years of eight members, each holding office for eight years. "There shall be elected at each regular biennial spring election two members of such Board." These take office on the succeeding first of January, with not more than two new Regents coming on duty at any one time. Thus, barring deaths or resignations, continuity of policy is as assured as could well be. The Regents are elected from the state at large and receive no salary or fees, though reimbursed for actual traveling expenses. The satisfaction found in serving the University is their sole compensation, and with rarest exceptions (one or two of whom have already been mentioned) a Regent of the University of Michigan has always been an outstanding citizen who has honored his office as well as being honored by it.

If it be thought that the extended quotations from decisions of the Supreme Court of the state of Michigan which follow have little place in the biography of James B. Angell, let it be remembered that in his own person he was the head and front of the University.<sup>4</sup> He suffered and was

<sup>3</sup> See note 8, p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> Even before he left Burlington, on March 18, 1871, Angell wrote his father-in-law: "A little cloud has risen on the Michigan horizon. I have had to write in view of it today, and regret that I could not have consulted you about it. But I hope my course will commend itself to you.

"You know that the Regents have believed, and have always assured me that in



handicapped by every attack upon the freedom of the institution, and he rejoiced in every step toward recognition of its independence. He had come from the East, where education controlled by the state was by its very nature suspect of control by the shifting winds of politics. He participated in all the discussions that led to the bringing of the questions involved to the consideration of the final authority in the interpretation of the state's Constitution. The reasoning of the Supreme Court by which it ultimately arrived at full recognition of the University's freedom deserves presentation at length. Nothing in Angell's presidency was more important than these decisions and the reasoning by which they were reached.

Three times previous to Angell's presidency the "homeopathic question" and the right of the Regents—and the Regents *only*—to deal with it appeared in the Supreme Court. Each time the Regents were sustained. However, the results in these proceedings at least twice were determined by an evenly divided court. In a fourth case the rule was laid down—which still stands—that if the legislature attaches a condition to an appropriation for the University, the condition must be met by the Regents, or they may not take advantage of the grant. Even in a decision of 1856, however, the court used language strongly slanted toward recognition of the potential constitutional barrier to legislative interference with the institution's administration.<sup>5</sup>

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their opinion the Legislature would not so act as to embarrass the University. I inquired particularly about the homoeopathic war, before opening the correspondence this winter, and was assured that no trouble would come.

"Well, the Legislature have voted \$75,000 for a new building, and that is fine. Perhaps they will do nothing more.

"But the Education Committee in the House have reported in favor of a bill, requiring the Regents to appoint two homoeopathic Profs. in the Medical School. Now, if they had commanded a separate school to be under the University, I should have no objection. But this assumes that the Legislature may say not only what departments shall be set up, but also what shall be the peculiar scientific views of the Profs. in any department. Of course by the same reasoning, the hydropaths may demand and receive a man. Not only must the Medical School be ruined,—that the University could survive,—but this principle strikes at every Professorship, e. g. the Legislature, being Protectionists, may order a Tariff Prof. of Pol. Economy, the next Legislature being Democratic, may order a Free Trader, and so of all the rest.

"Now this is fundamental, and is a totally different basis of organization and life from that on which I agreed to go. And I have felt it my duty to write to Mr. Walker & say that if the Legislature pass such a bill, I cannot hope to administer affairs with success, and do not think I can undertake it. Perhaps the Legislature will not pass the bill. Perhaps my letter may help defeat it. I took the precaution to consult Mr. Phelps as to the legal & equitable view of the case, and he says I am thoroughly right."

<sup>5</sup> *The People ex rel Drake vs The Regents of the University of Michigan*, 4 Michigan Reports, 98.

"Homeopathy" was comparatively quiescent for some time after 1875, but in the legislature of 1895 an act was passed giving the Regents an out-and-out command to remove the Homeopathic Medical College from Ann Arbor to Detroit. Proceedings were brought to compel compliance, constituting the historic case of *Sterling vs. The Regents of the University of Michigan*. The decision of the Supreme Court in this fundamental case was unanimous, laying down the law thus:

"We are therefore constrained to state some further reasons to show that the Legislature has no control over the University or the board of regents.

"1. The board of regents and the legislature derive their power from the same supreme authority, namely, the Constitution. In so far as the powers of each are defined by that instrument, limitations are imposed, and a direct power conferred upon one necessarily excludes its existence in the other, in the absence of language showing the contrary intent. Neither the University nor the board of regents is mentioned in article 4, which defines the powers and duties of the legislature; nor in the article relating to the University and the board of regents is there any language which can be construed into conferring upon or reserving any control over that institution in the legislature. They are separate and distinct constitutional bodies, with the powers of the Regents defined. By no rule of construction can it be held that either can encroach upon or exercise the powers conferred upon the other.

"2. The board of regents is the only corporation provided for in the Constitution whose powers are defined therein. In every other corporation provided for in the Constitution it is expressly provided that its powers shall be such as the legislature shall give. . . .

"3. Let us apply another test. It is a rule of construction that where a general power over one subject is conferred upon one body in one clause of an instrument, without any restricting or qualifying language, and the like power over another subject is conferred upon another body in another clause of the same instrument, with restricting or qualifying language, the restrictions or qualifications of the second clause cannot be read into the first clause. On the contrary, they must be excluded. By article 13, paragraph I, the superintendent of public instruction is clothed with 'the general supervision of public instruction,' but it is added, 'His duties shall be prescribed by law.' By article 13, paragraph 9, the board of education is given 'the general supervision of the State Normal School'; but it is added, 'Their duties shall be prescribed by law.'



“Thus in every case except that of the regents, the Constitution carefully and expressly reposes in the legislature the power to legislate and to control and define the duties of those corporations and officers. Can it be held that the framers of the Constitution, and the people, in adopting it, had no purpose in conferring this power, viz., the ‘general supervision,’ upon the regents in the one instance, and in restricting it in the others? No other conclusion, in my judgment, is possible than that the intention was to place this institution in the direct and exclusive control of the people themselves, through a constitutional body elected by them. As already shown, the maintenance of this power in the legislature would give to it the sole control and general supervision of the institution, and make the regents merely ministerial officers, with no other power than to carry into effect the general supervision which the legislature may see fit to exercise, or, in other words, to register its will. We do not think the Constitution can bear that construction.”

The decision was written by that outstanding personality, Justice Claudius B. Grant. In a note in *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*, the author wrote: “Justice Claudius Buchanan Grant, ’59, was a Civil War colonel—and never quite got over it. Tall and spare, with an eye as nearly ‘eagle’ as that of any man I ever saw, he was almost fiercely devoted to every cause he regarded as just, yet withal reasonable about it in his own austere way. He was a most energetic Regent from 1872 to 1880, and after an extensive service as judge of an Upper Peninsula Circuit Court, was a justice of the Michigan Supreme Court from 1890 to 1910. It would be difficult to overestimate the debt the University owes to his determination that the University should be kept free, and to his ability to state his reasons and the philosophy and statutes supporting them so forcibly and clearly that, with his rocklike character to back up his words, his fellow citizens were ready to follow him.”

Even earlier, in connection with the contracts for erection of the hospitals, another situation had arisen in the case of *Weinberg vs. The Regents* on which Judge Grant wrote an opinion that was concurred in by a majority of his colleagues.

The Weinberg case, in spite of the Supreme Court’s decision, seems of rather doubtful character as a support for the constitutional independence of the University. It must be admitted that the reasoning is complicated. The Regents have long since recognized that if they are not subject to the general police powers of the state, they should be. It is as important that the University should comply with measures

for the health, safety, and welfare of the public as it is for all other persons, individual or corporate. It has been many years, for instance, since the Regents have failed to require the customary performance bonds from their contractors. However, it is perhaps worth while to present here the Court's reasoning in the Weinberg case.

"The plaintiff in the case brought suit against the Regents to recover the value of materials furnished to a subcontractor . . . . The claim was made under the Mechanics' Lien Law of 1883, which imposed the duty on boards or agencies contracting for the erection of buildings 'on behalf of the state' to secure bonds to protect subcontractors and material men. The University authorities, in directing the construction of the University Hospital, had ignored this law.

"The Regents demurred to the declaration, on the ground that the statute in question did not and could not constitutionally apply to the University. Two arguments were advanced: first, that the statute in question applied only to buildings built by 'the state,' and that this should not be interpreted to include the University, which was a separate constitutional corporation; and second, that, even if the statute were intended to apply to the University, it could not constitutionally be so applied in view of the fact that the general supervision of the University was by the constitution vested in the Board of Regents and hence was placed beyond legislative enactment so far as its internal affairs were concerned.

"The demurrer was overruled by the trial court, and the Regents carried the case to the Supreme Court. That tribunal reversed the trial court, but was closely divided in its opinion . . . ." <sup>6</sup>

The Court held:

"Under the Constitution the state cannot control the action of the Regents. It cannot add to or take away from its property without the consent of the Regents. In making appropriations for its support, the Legislature may attach any conditions it may deem expedient and wise, and the Regents cannot receive the appropriation without complying with the conditions. This has been done in several instances.

"Property aggregating in value nearly or quite half a million of dollars has been donated to the University by private individuals. Such property is the property of the University. It is not under the control of the state when it acts through its executive or legislative departments, but of the Regents who are directly responsible to the people for the execution

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from E. Blythe Stason, "Constitutional Status," *The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey*, I, pp. 123-24.



of their trust, so when the state appropriates money to the University, it passes to the Regents and becomes the property of the University to be expended under the exclusive direction of the Regents, and passes beyond the control of the state through its legislative department . . . .

"The people, who are incorporators of this institution of learning, have by their Constitution conferred the entire control and management of its affairs and property upon the corporation designated as the Regents of the University of Michigan and have thereby excluded all departments of the state government from any interference therewith. The fact that it is state property does not bring the Regents within the purview of the statute. The people may by their Constitution place any of its institutions or property beyond the control of the Legislature . . . .

"These considerations lead me to the conclusion that the Regents are not included in this act and that the judgment should be reversed."<sup>7</sup>

In 1895 the auditor general reduced the rate of interest on the proceeds of the sale of the federal lands<sup>8</sup> from 7 per cent, which had previously obtained, to 6 per cent, on the ground that an act of 1887 had fixed the legal rate of interest at the latter figure. (When the rate of 7 per cent had originally been agreed on, the legal rate was 10 per cent.) The Regents appealed to the Supreme Court for continuance of the 7 per cent rate and were sustained. The state has paid 7 per cent ever since.

Still later, in 1911, after President Angell had retired, his traveling expenses while acting as the University's representative at various gatherings, were one of the bases on which the Regents even more firmly established their independence of state officials in other fields. The auditor general declined to honor the University's vouchers for purposes which he deemed unlawful, among these being traveling expenses for maintaining contacts with alumni. He held such expenditures were not for the "use and maintenance of the University" as contemplated by the act of appropriation. There was no mistaking the emphasis with which the Supreme Court upheld the contention of the Regents that they are sole judges of how any of the University's money shall be spent, provided always that these acts do not violate conditions embodied in the appropriations or terms of gifts by which the funds came to them.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> The Ordinance of 1787 supplement provided with respect to disposition of the public lands in each territory or state to be carved out of these lands for "[Not more than two complete townships to] be given perpetually for the purpose of a University," and it provided also for the selection and proper sale of such lands. The state retained the proceeds, on which it paid—and still pays—interest to the University.

In the period when the Regents were thus engaged in the defense of their independence and before everybody joined in the celebration of Angell's first twenty-five years in the presidential office, there were numerous occurrences of lasting importance. In 1895 three new deans were appointed, whose tenure was to be long and whose influence was to be enduring: Hutchins in law, Greene in engineering, and Hinsdale in homeopathy. Perhaps the last named should be entitled to greatest credit, for with his firm and understanding administration the "homeopathic question" largely ceased from frequent troubling, and the weary got some rest. In January, 1896, Robert Mark Wenley was called as Professor of Philosophy,<sup>9</sup> and the first Dean of Women was appointed—Dr. Eliza M. Mosher. The following month, after mature deliberation, it must be believed, an appropriation of twenty-two dollars was voted, under which the General Library would be kept open for a longer daily period—from eight in the morning to five in the afternoon during the summer classes.

In spite of the enlarged budget of \$413,977 adopted for 1896–1897—perhaps because of it—money was very scarce in the University cash box. The distinguished German scholar, Calvin Thomas, was allowed to leave Michigan for a larger salary at Columbia—though he did not at all want to go. In May, 1896, the Regents reluctantly not only closed the hospitals again for the summer, but took the further step of reducing salaries and, also, the number of faculty members. Further, they ruled that no department could have more than one professor at a salary above \$2,500. This lowered the compensation of some of the best teachers in the profession. Albert H. Pattengill, junior to Professor Martin L. D'Ooge, was a shining example. Despite the increase in the total enrollment, money was so scarce that instructors were dropped in French, German, history, philosophy, and Latin, classes which obviously must have shared in the larger general enrollment.

In January, 1895, the President won popular acclaim from many plain citizens by serving as foreman of a circuit court jury. A newspaper in a neighboring county quoted him, without proof of its correct reporting, as saying that the jury compared very favorably in common sense with any faculty he had presided over in some time.<sup>10</sup> In July he attended and spoke at the Centennial Celebration of the Evacuation of Detroit by British troops. On the invitation of Professor Simon Newcomb he participated, with other American university authorities, in

<sup>9</sup> See p. 244.

<sup>10</sup> Fenton *Independent* quoted in *Ann Arbor Courier*.



an organized endeavor to induce French universities to accept the American Bachelor of Arts degree in lieu of graduation from a *lycée* as qualification for admission to study for a higher degree in the French universities. He led in organizing the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the North Central States. He spent hours in dealing with the strife between the old nine "Palladium fraternities" and the younger groups for use of the new gymnasium for the annual "Junior Hop." The building was in due course made available only if all joined in one united affair. In October, 1895, the first local Michigan Alumni Association of any size was organized in Detroit. Don M. Dickinson, former Postmaster General, was its first president, and Earl D. Babst the first secretary. Already, in October, 1894, there had appeared for a few earlier months under private ownership, the first issue of the *Michigan Alumnus*, now entering its sixtieth year of uninterrupted publication. The leading article in issue number one was by Ralph Stone, who was later to be for sixteen years an influential regent.

The action most noticeable to the average eye of the time, however, was the removal of the great dome of University Hall that for all of President Angell's term thus far had architecturally dominated the campus and the city. It dated from the very year of his coming. But it had grown unsafe and expensive to maintain, and after the Christmas recess of 1895-1896 all that returning students saw of it was a pile of thirty cords of wood by the campus power house and twisted and battered masses of metal and plaster in the dumping pit then known as the "Cat Hole." It was succeeded ultimately by a much less impressive steel and copper cap that never, whether from near or far, could rouse in students or alumni emotions like those stirred by the old dome with its inspiring invitation to look to the skies. The University lost something.

# *The Deep*

## *Waterways Commission*

### CHAPTER XXVI

*S*ince the times of earliest settlement both Canada and the United States had envisioned the day when there should be an all-water route between the Atlantic and the Great Lakes that constitute the largest body of fresh water in the world. The explorers and voyageurs with their canoes and boats found the portages no insuperable barrier. But when settlement and development began, these obstructions of earth and rock, whether dry or submerged, became a challenge. The Erie Canal, opened in 1825, with its shallow drafts, was a partial answer for the United States. Twenty-eight years earlier the Canadian Northwest Fur Company had built a lock with a lift of nine feet at the rapids of the Sault Ste Marie. These works were destroyed by United States troops in 1814. In 1840 Congress was asked for 100,000 acres of land to defray the expense of a locked canal at the Sault. After Henry Clay had characterized it as "a work quite beyond the remotest human settlement of the United States, if not in the moon," Congress voted down the project. But, as it so often is, time was on the side of the visionaries, and in 1852, 750,000 acres were voted for the enterprise. The "state" canal was "completed" in 1855, with capacity for vessels drawing not over twelve feet of water. In 1881 an additional lock (the Weitzel, in turn superseded by the MacArthur Lock) was built. In 1888 the original lock of 1855 had been entirely replaced by the Poe Lock, with a water depth, ultimately, of twenty feet.

Obviously, the most serious barrier to commerce between the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River was the great limestone escarpment that provides one of the world's wonders—Niagara Falls. There is a



difference of 326<sup>1</sup> feet between the levels of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. In the five years between 1824 and 1829, however, a private Canadian corporation had built the Welland Canal, by which vessels drawing not over eight feet, might pass from one lake to the other. This canal was taken over by the Canadian government, and in the period of years to 1867, the Dominion rebuilt it as the second Welland Canal with draft increased to a few inches over ten feet. But this was not enough, and between 1871 and 1887 the third Welland Canal was constructed to accommodate vessels drawing fourteen feet.<sup>2</sup> The insatiable demands for bigger cargo carriers were to result ultimately in the formal opening of the fourth Welland Canal by the passage through it on August 6, 1932, of the steamship "Lemoyne" carrying over half a million bushels of wheat, 15,900 tons, and drawing nineteen and one-half feet. Nine months later the canal was opened to ships of 700 feet over all, with a draft of twenty-three and one-half feet.<sup>2</sup> Its moderate tolls are equal for vessels of all nations. The Canadians cannot be said to have shirked their share of the responsibilities for a waterway.

Aside from the modern improvements in the canals of St. Mary's River and at Welland, the deep waterway problems in the 1890's were much as they are today, principally confined to the stretch of 181 miles between Lake Ontario and Montreal. Along this reach of the great river Canada had already in 1890 built canals to bypass the numerous rapids. But the enlarged locks at the Welland and at Sault Ste Marie were still in the future, and the demand for greater depths, to this day limited to fourteen feet<sup>3</sup> in the St. Lawrence itself, then as now, merely whetted the navigator's appetite for channels more in harmony with the demands of modern commerce. In September, 1895, there had been held in Cleveland, Ohio, the first annual convention of the International Deep Waterways Association. Its published proceedings cover 456 closely printed pages.

Eight states of the Union are washed by the waters of the Lakes—Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. These states obviously have a tangible interest in the Lakes to Atlantic project. The interests of Illinois look both ways, to the east and to the south via the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers. The great grain producers of the West then as now needed cheap transportation to their Eastern markets, while New England, close to the St.

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand N. Menefee, *The St. Lawrence Seaway* (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros., 1940), pp. 22, 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Lawrence and to Lake Champlain, wanted facilities to and from the West and North. Early in 1895, Congress enacted into law a joint resolution introduced by a lake-state Senator, W. F. Vilas of Wisconsin, which provided: "The President of the United States is authorized to appoint immediately after the passage of this joint resolution three persons, who shall have power to meet and confer with any similar committee which may be appointed by the Government of Great Britain or the Dominion of Canada, and who shall make inquiry and report whether it is feasible to build such canals as shall enable vessels engaged in ocean commerce to pass to and fro between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean, with an adequate and controllable supply of water for continual use; where such canals can be most conveniently located, and the probable cost of the same, with estimates in detail; and if any part of the same should be built in the territory of Canada, what regulations or treaty arrangements will be necessary between the United States and Great Britain to preserve the free use of such canals to the people of this country at all times; and all necessary facts and considerations relating to the construction and future use of deep-water channels between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean.

"The persons so appointed shall serve without compensation in any form, but they shall be paid their actual traveling and other necessary expenses, not exceeding in all ten thousand dollars, for which purpose the said sum of ten thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated. The President may, in his discretion, detail as one of such persons an officer of the United States Navy or of the Army."<sup>4</sup>

Under this authority on November 4, 1895, President Cleveland appointed as commissioners: James B. Angell, chairman, John E. Russell, a former congressman from Massachusetts, and Lyman E. Cooley, a civil engineer of Chicago.<sup>5</sup>

Angell served, altogether, under four presidential appointments:

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the United States Deep Waterways Commission, House Documents, 54th Congress, 2d session, Vol. 51, No. 192 (1897).*

<sup>5</sup> Lyman E. Cooley was a five-year-older brother of Dean Mortimer E. Cooley. The University of Michigan conferred the degree of Doctor of Engineering on him in 1915, citing him as "one of the most prominent of American Engineers. Distinguished among other things for his great achievements in the development of the public waterways of the country. The design and construction of the Chicago drainage canal is only one of the important undertakings which have proved successful because of his great professional ability and sound business judgment." In 1900-1901 he served the University as Non-Resident Lecturer on the Industrial Significance of Ship Canals. He died in 1917.



first by Hayes to China and last by McKinley to Turkey. In the first of these his success was much more immediately in evidence than in the last. Neither of the two appointments under Cleveland, to the Fishery Commission and to that of the Deep Waterways, was regarded at the time as successful from the American point of view. We have seen that in spite of the failure of the fishery treaty in the American Senate, it was nevertheless influential through its *modus vivendi* in bringing many years of a new peace among the fishermen. And the waterways collations of surveys and the testimony taken have been useful through the nearly six decades of "study," though not yet eventuating in any mutual undertaking between Canada and the United States. The Welland Canal, Canada's own contribution, has been an earnest of what might be done.<sup>6</sup>

Canada at once appointed as its commissioners: Oliver A. Howland, of Toronto, a member of Parliament, and two able engineers, Thomas Monro, of Coteau Landing, and Thomas C. Keefer, of Ottawa. The latter, especially, had been distinguished as president of the American and of the Canadian societies of civil engineers, and as a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers of London.

In mid-January, 1896, the American commissioners took advantage of a meeting of the Lake Carriers' Association in Detroit to hold a session at which they transcribed many pages of opinions on various phases of the waterways project. This testimony of an informal nature was furnished by seven witnesses representing civil engineers, dredging contractors, shipmasters, fleet owners, and one man who had over a number of years collated statistics as secretary of the association. It is impossible to classify these professional men without overlapping. As one of the witnesses put it: "Men up here are not only masters, but they are pilots and they are financiers. They are the men who have financial charge of the vessels."

The questions, answers, and discussions covered problems involved in a wide range of lake levels, including the control that might be expected from various types of dams and changes of coast lines and channel depths due to storms and sudden rises of water. Angell and Russell were surprised to learn how much loss of effective power resulted from lessening of water depth under the keel of a ship and how much

<sup>6</sup> One service (?) of the Welland Canal in its modern form had a value considerably less than zero, for it furnished the channel through which the lamprey pest long prevalent in Lake Ontario found the way to its destructive activities in the upper lakes.

the steering of a ship was affected by it. In the picturesque language of a witness describing one ship's reaction to a bar she did not quite touch, "she smelled the ground," and sheered off to one side. The increased resistance of water confined in narrow channels was no less noteworthy to the landsmen. These novel facts, they determined, must have consideration in their study.

The dredge man was strongly of the opinion that the operations by his fellow craftsmen in deepening channels and providing for greater outflow would have no appreciable effect on the levels of so vast a body of water as constituted by the lakes, and Mr. Cooley confirmed his statements that fifty years previously, before dredging of any consequence had taken place, the levels had been lower than at any time since. The dredger had come to the view, as he expressed it: "I claim that these lakes are a pretty good deal of an institution, and I claim that it is an Overwhelming Power that handles them, and takes care of them, and knows the whys and wherefores." In matters under the control of men and governments, he felt the Canadians had been much more wide-awake and enterprising than his fellow countrymen.

There was much talk about ship design for the lakes as compared with what ocean conditions required, with unanimity of opinion that the one change certainly necessitated by salt water was surface steam condensers in place of those used on fresh water. Cooley asked a fleet owner whether "the class of vessels we have on the Lakes could do business on the high seas and in the coasting trade" and was told, "There is no question about that." This witness quoted a British Lloyds official who came over to adjust a partial loss on a steamer insured by his principals: "He told me that the vessel was superior to anything they had built on the Clyde; that if she had been of the construction of the Clyde-built vessels, all the cargo in her hold would have been full of water, while the fact was she didn't wet a pound of her cargo." This witness also dwelt on the relative severity of storms on the lakes, especially on Lake Superior, compared with those of the ocean: "I had a crew on a vessel that I was sailing at one time consisting of Norwegians who had never been on the Lakes before . . . . They went up to Lake Superior, and they were out on the night that the 'Algomah,' one of the Canadian Pacific vessels, was lost on Isle Royale. That was a gale from the northeast, and those men said they had never experienced a worse sea on the ocean . . . . My idea is that we encounter worse weather up here, that is, as a general thing, than they do down below. Once in a while they get a very heavy gale of wind there, and they get a heavy sea, but the seas are longer."



With some allowance for local pride in severity of weather, the commissioners had to be impressed with the ability and the achievements of the Great Lakes ship designers and builders.

But pride and patriotism ran even stronger when the discussion shifted to the ability of lakes seamen to do anything salt-water men could do—and more. For example: “They had a couple of steam vessels they wanted to bring up here from New York. One of those boats was brought up by a young fellow who had never been on salt water, the other was brought up by a man employed for the purpose, who was an old salt water navigator. The young man who belonged on Lake Michigan brought his boat through and was here doing business for over two weeks before the other fellow got up here. When the other fellow struck the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he simply had to have a pilot for the St. Lawrence and up here into the lakes.

“Another thing, you will recognize that there is a difference between the movements and action of the men up here and down on the coast in handling a vessel. You take the vessels in New York Harbor like the ‘Etruria’ and you will find they will put out two lines and you will see them go within 50 or 60 feet of the dock and they will spend from two hours to two hours and a half getting to the dock. If you will take a man off the lakes, who can’t land such a vessel in fifteen minutes, he would get kicked ashore; that is a fact. You take another thing: you go into New York Harbor and you will find vessels that don’t carry more than 2,000 to 2,500 tons, and they will lie forty days to load for San Francisco or some other port. We will take that same tonnage here, and we will go into the port of Buffalo in the morning, filled with grain, unload her and go out with a cargo of the same amount of coal in her that night, loaded. The same class of tonnage you have to deal with and you hold them for that length of time down there. The methods of doing business differ materially. If you want to find life and snap and push in business in this country, don’t go down there.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The late dean of the University’s College of Engineering, Herbert C. Sadler, then professor of naval architecture, was British born and reared. In conversation with the author in 1914, after the disaster off Father Point in the St. Lawrence, when on a clear afternoon the Canadian Pacific steamer “Empress of Ireland” was rammed and sunk by the Danish collier “Storstad,” with loss of 1,024 lives, he said, “I think I shall exercise the Englishman’s privilege of writing to the *Times*, to urge that before a master’s certificate is issued to any man, he shall be required to have six months’ experience on the Great Lakes. He needs it. An ocean seaman gets nervous as soon as he knows another ship is within three miles of him. On the Lakes they pass within a hundred feet of each other, calmly, as a matter of course instead of panic.”

Under all the pride and patriotism, however, was a solid structure of unmistakable need for an adequate outlet to the sea, a determination to secure it, and a confidence that later, if not sooner, they would have it. This was especially emphasized by Mr. William A. Livingston, who for many years, along with other extensive interests in Detroit, operated a fleet of freighters. In his considered opinion, the yearly increase in the size of the lake fleets and in the size of the units and in the tonnage of cargo would become irresistible.

But when the American commissioners had heard all this and been impressed by it, they could do little more than admit the extent of the work and the difficulties ahead. Long study would be necessary—many surveys, especially on the American side, had not yet been completed, even if begun—surveys necessary to a choice of the best route. Even when the commissioners knew what should be done from the viewpoint of technical engineering, their decision had to meet the demands of human nature with all its variations and self-interests. Aside from the attitude of the railroads and the Erie Canal, neither of which wanted to lose traffic, what would be the effect in slack seasons on international trade of ocean shipping coming up into the Lakes to compete? Routes selected must not avoidably discriminate against localities. And if anywhere it was necessary to impound water by dams, there had to be thorough advance consideration of damages to arise from overflow. All these the commissioners had to think of in deciding what routes seemed to present the most advantages and the fewest disadvantages, not only with respect to these listed problems, but especially as to costs of construction and operation. Some of the riddles involved in their problem were illustrated by Cooley's cryptic statement toward the end of their session: "There has never been a time when the St. Lawrence route would not take a vessel of four times the capacity of the Erie Canal route; [and] there has never been a time when the Erie Canal route did not carry four times as much as the St. Lawrence route."

And they had only \$10,000 to expend.

On January 17, the day after recording these opinions of lake carriers, the commissioners from both countries began a two-day session in Detroit (Commissioner Monro could not arrive until the eighteenth). After mutual amenities, one of which was the request by Mr. Howland that President Angell serve as chairman, and Angell's promise to return the compliment if a session were held on Canadian soil, the commission began its discussions with presentation of credentials. The Canadians had no appropriation, but they had accumulated more surveys in Canada



than the Americans had in their country. The two Canadian engineers "knew their subject." No witnesses were called, the commissioners merely "talked it over." It was all very pleasant. Much that the Americans had heard in the two preceding days was confirmed. They learned also that not everybody engaged in lake shipping wanted a deep waterway. Little boats would be put out of business by the larger carriers that would be built. Cleveland and Buffalo might be more or less content to remain terminal or transfer ports with the pertinent activities. But the underlying interest was embodied in the statement by Mr. Howland: "The strong representative men who came down from the west [to the Waterways Convention in Cleveland] declared they wanted a better route to the sea, and they didn't care where it went, so long as it went." These western men who were quoted came from both countries.

The commissioners discussed in considerable detail the various possible routes which were later included in the reports to Congress and to the Canadian parliament. All of the time the Americans had to remind themselves that they were a committee of inquiry only, though with power and expectation of making recommendations. (Angell, no doubt, remembered that it was again a presidential election year with all its distractions and impertinent influences.) Ultimately, they recessed to meet at call. The called meeting proved to be at Niagara Falls, Ontario, in mid-July.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Cooley had practically all the work to do, but he gathered a staff and had hearty co-operation from his Canadian colleagues in getting together the Canadian surveys already made. When through the summer all the data had been collated, the preparation of the American report fell to Mr. Russell, who, experienced in congressional ways, was thought best fitted for this task.

The American commissioners' report covered all possible routes to the ocean including one from the head of Lake Huron, where the traffic of Lake Superior and Lake Michigan converges. It would be possible to take this shipping down through Georgian Bay to Midland, and thence by way of Lake Simcoe, to Toronto, by a route to be constructed or by the so-called Trent Waterway to Trenton, like Toronto on Lake Ontario. While either of these routes, traversing the hypotenuse of a triangle the other sides of which are Lake Huron and Lake Erie, would save hundreds of miles in distance, difficulties and expense of construction, poor country and sparse populations served, and difficulties

<sup>8</sup> In the midst of this meeting Angell was summoned home by a telegram announcing the death by drowning of his eleven-year-old grandson, Thomas Angell, son of Alexis.

of transit if constructed, put both out of consideration. The same was true of a route from Georgian Bay through Lake Nipissing and down the Ottawa River to the St. Lawrence. There were others merely mentioned: shorter routes from southern Lake Michigan to Lake Huron and Lake Erie, and possible enlargement of the Erie Canal.<sup>9</sup>

Three routes received extensive consideration, but none eliminated the Welland Canal or, as an alternative, the Niagara River supplemented by a new canal to be constructed, since all three used Lake Ontario.

One proposal was for a route following the Mohawk River and other natural waters to the Hudson at Albany or Troy. Another was for one from the St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain and thence to Albany or Troy by canal. The stage from the St. Lawrence to Champlain would involve a canal supplementing the navigable portion of the Richelieu River, which drains Lake Champlain to the northward. Once on Lake Champlain traffic would go to destination either by rail or via canal to Troy or Albany and like that from the Mohawk, down the great rock cleft confining the Hudson River, affected by the tides as far as Troy.

But the preferable route must always be, as time has shown, the one so largely provided by nature and awaiting only the deepening of the canal channels around the series of rapids in the mighty St. Lawrence.<sup>10</sup>

The report was filed on January 8, 1897, and transmitted to Congress by President Cleveland ten days later. Congress provided for its printing in a volume of 263 pages. Since then it has served only as a companion piece to other works on the same subject by other committees and War Department officers. The report came to the country just after the people had repelled the great "free silver" onslaught, and when men's minds were still preoccupied with this and the growing unrest in Cuba that led to the Spanish War.

One source of opposition to any deep waterway may be inferred from the conclusion of a long editorial article which appeared in the *Railroad Gazette* of February 5, 1897, and which might be said to be somewhat patronizing in spots:

"We are disposed to believe, for reasons which we have often stated, that this whole scheme, colossal as it is in cost and in possible results, rests on a fallacy. It is assumed that trade would go from Duluth or

<sup>9</sup> See *Report of the United States Deep Waterways Commission, House Documents*, 54th Congress, 2d session, No. 192, p. 55. Also, copyrighted map (1895) presented by "Fort Wayne Business Men," in the Michigan Historical Collections.

<sup>10</sup> Now at last, since the action of the United States Congress, with the President's signature, May 13, 1954, the vision seems about to be realized.



Chicago directly to the ocean and thence to any of the foreign ports and that the ship yards on the lakes would at once begin to build ships for the merchant marine of the whole world. The latter assumption is by no means impossible, but the nation could hardly be expected to spend several hundred million dollars to give the lake ship builders an outlet to Chicago. [One infers that the typesetter and the proofreader substituted "Chicago" for "China."]

"The former assumption seems more doubtful. It is believed by many who have studied this question with some care, that ships which are built for trading economically and efficiently over long distances of deep water could not be economically sent through a long canal or through hundreds of miles of 'restricted channel.' The loss in interest and wages account on these great vessels while proceeding slowly through the canal, would be more than sufficient to offset the loss in trans-shipment at the foot of Lake Erie and at the Atlantic harbors. By those who hold to this opinion it is believed that the proposed increase in the capacity of the Erie Canal to permit the passage of larger canal boats, hauled by mechanical traction, is a much more rational way of providing an all-water route from the lakes to the sea.

"Nevertheless, the study of this grand deep-waterways project should be carried on, for it is possible that the economy of such a project can be demonstrated, and at any rate the study of it, like the study of astronomy, will stimulate the imagination and enlarge the intellectual field of those who undertake it."

Another view is embodied in the testimony of the free-spoken "dredgerman" from the record of the Detroit meeting of January 16, 1896: "I think our government don't take hold of public improvements quite strong enough. Even Canada would not mind spending money for such things, and the United States ought to be able and willing to spend as much money as Canada in submarine water-ways. I don't think they do it though. Up there at the Sault the Canadian folks took hold and made a lock for themselves. There was no occasion for it whatever,—only it is theirs after it is done. Our people don't go so much on that; they are going to grub along as easy as they can."

# *The President's*

## *Twenty-fifth Anniversary*

### CHAPTER XXVII

*W*hile no period of leave had been voted by the Regents, in November, 1895, they had granted Angell such time off as his duties on the Deep Waterways Commission might require of him. But months earlier, on February 21, they had appointed Regents Barbour, Kiefer, and Fletcher to "take into consideration" with a committee to be set up by the University Senate the fact that 1896 would mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of his appointment to the presidency of the University. In May all the deans, with Martin L. D'Ooge of the Literary Department as chairman, were constituted as such committee. On July 10, 1896, with Regent Cocker in the chair to avoid any embarrassment to the President, the Board unanimously voted \$350 for the printing of five hundred copies of a commemorative volume. When one remembers the twenty-two dollars spent for opening the Library in the summer of 1895, it is plain that the Regents proposed to be as lavish as circumstances required in preserving the memory of this celebration. And in truth the ninety-two-page volume printed by the Riverside Press was in harmony with the dignity of the events themselves.

The celebration proper was confined to June 24, the day immediately preceding Commencement. In addition to a general notice through the press of a welcome to all friends, special invitations had been sent in the name of the Regents and the Senate to presidents of American and Canadian universities and colleges, to representatives of alumni associations, to former regents and Senate members, and to "many persons interested in higher education in Michigan and throughout the country."

In the forenoon University Hall was crowded for the morning program at which Regent Butterfield presided. Music had been composed for the



event by Professor Albert A. Stanley and was presented by him on the Frieze organ and with the aid of a special chorus. To the special commemorative "Ode" by Professor Charles M. Gayley, of California, we shall advert later. There were resolutions of respect and affection from the Regents and the Senate, from the Michigan State Teachers Association, with special greetings and a few personal greeters from other universities of the country. These latter included Brown and Princeton, represented by Professor James O. Murray, of the latter institution, Angell's life-long friend from their college days. Harvard sent Justin Winsor, who made public the secret that a few years before during a season of legislative discouragement at Michigan President Eliot had thought it an opportune time to ask Angell to accept a professorship of international law amply endowed and free from the thorns sometimes found in a president's chair. "That he decided to remain steadfast to your interest," said the speaker, "is the only solace we feel today for a lost opportunity." Professor John E. Clark, Michigan, '56, of the Sheffield Scientific School brought Yale's congratulations, while President Draper of the University of Illinois, emphasized the debt the group of great new state universities owed to Michigan and to Angell. The University "has been a pioneer in world history. She was the first realization of Washington's dream and Jefferson's plan." He spoke at considerable length, for he took time to emphasize in some detail the pioneering work of the state of Michigan in higher education, with its own John D. Pierce and Isaac Crary, while Massachusetts was elevating Horace Mann to his position of leadership. He congratulated the state on its choice of James B. Angell, not after his achievements were history, but in the strength and vigor of youthful maturity. Not only, said Draper, has he led Michigan but education as it was still being formulated by the states of the West. And "perhaps better than all, his spirit has been at peace with the world, at one with its Maker, attuned to the harmony of the skies. And year after year these attributes of his individuality, as they have grown riper and richer, have been bravely and cheerily shaping the character, framing and declaring the policy, widening the influence and determining the status, of the University of Michigan."

The United States Commissioner of Education, Dr. William T. Harris, spoke in a similar vein. Obviously, all these addresses were perforce in the more or less laudatory pattern of such occasions. People do not gather to "celebrate" and then go into detailed and searching analyses of events they wish had not happened or of situations at the moment causing anxiety. Justin Winsor's mention of the legislative hesitation that had

made Harvard think it might find Angell willing to be relieved of troubles was the only allusion to the difficulties the University and its President had experienced. It was a time for congratulations and felicitations, and they congratulated and felicitated accordingly. But into the remarks of President Draper crept one small note of something that was to grow and to be suppressed in hearts which could conceal but not quite eliminate it. This hint was found in Draper's words: "I have observed this morning, with some little irritation to my sensibilities, something of a disposition to make frequent and perhaps doleful reference to the fact that we are all growing old, and that sometime we shall have to have an account with Nature which we shall be called upon to settle. I came up to a celebration, not to a memorial service, and a celebration it shall be."

However, even while the celebration had been in the planning period, there were on the campus men who were already feeling the impatience of youth with the past and with the men who to them too largely, if not wholly, represented that past. Even as the deans were organizing their program for the celebration, Professor James A. Craig, of the Department of Semitics, had written to his fellow Scot (though Craig was Canadian born), Robert M. Wenley, still in Glasgow:

"We are looking to you for help. *We*, I mean the younger men of the institution who are interested in scientific work. The older men do nothing and, I am sorry to say, they are doing now what they have always done. The acme of their interest is a 'Schoolmasters Club.' Occasionally one tries to write a text-book, but there ambition rests. The president has little or no knowledge of what higher work means and consequently does not much favor it. Philosophy with him will, I think, mean largely old fashioned moral philosophy, just as Semitics meant a little Hebrew and a good deal of practical assistance by precept and sundry popular discourses. But the strong element, the element that is to control shortly is not of that mind—they are looking for strictly scientific handling and investigation of the problems with which your department has to deal."

We may repeat that it is doubtful whether this discordant note should be injected into an account of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Celebration. Yet there it was! And for all Craig's infatuation with his own wisdom and for all his exaggerations, this dour Scot did represent a campus feeling that was destined to grow, often with a sense of self-reproach for disloyalty in minds that reluctantly entertained it, despite the fact that Angell himself was bringing R. M. Wenley to the University. It was more or less an underground factor throughout Angell's remain-



ing presidential years, and during some of the years while Harry B. Hutchins was President. Angell himself was only looking about him as well as ahead when in closing his response to the addresses of the Regents and the Senate he said: "In the course of nature the day is not remote when some other man must take the official responsibility which for a quarter of a century has rested on me, and which has so greatly increased since I assumed it. I pray that he may be a stronger and wiser man than I have been."

The afternoon was given over to a dinner in the new Waterman Gymnasium to which some five hundred persons sat down. Dean D'Ooge presided and read a few of the multitude of congratulatory messages received—sixty-five of which appeared in the commemoration volume. There were many speeches. Of these the one by Rowland Hazard, for whose coming Angell had especially hoped, has already been quoted at the beginning of Chapter VIII.

And Angell had in his library desk a long letter of June 3, written in Vienna by Mrs. George Herbert Palmer, who as Alice Freeman had graduated from Michigan with the Class of 1876 and who from 1881 to 1887 had been President of Wellesley and from 1892 to 1895 Dean of Women at the University of Chicago: "Austria and Ann Arbor are not very far apart after all! And now that June has come how often I wish that we could change the one for the other! For this is the month when you celebrate twenty-five years at the dear old place; and all the world will come to tell you how good it has been, and how thankful and glad we are. My husband and I want to join the great company and swell the chorus, and it is bitterly hard to miss it all. And it is my twentieth anniversary too! I suppose my class will all be there, counting their gray heads, and wondering why '76 has grown so old, and you so young! That is certainly the most curious phenomenon of my time and has caused me much speculation.

"When a man comes to his silver wedding day I suppose his wife feels at liberty to tell him just how good she thinks he is! Why may not your friends venture now to say out boldly how much they love you, and how grateful they are for you, and what you have done and been, all the while they have been keeping silence?

"To me you have always been the ideal College President! As an undergraduate I watched you from the immeasurable distance and felt the power that made for righteousness and peace, and unconsciously trusted that all the place was good and safe to be in because you stood there at the head of it! And since, as a woman I came a little closer to

College Presidents, and had occasion to study a great many of them and their work, I have better understood how rare and how fine is the combination of qualities and of forces which you have brought to my University.

"To my mind, the quality of your character and influence explains the unquestionable fact that the University of Michigan has accomplished more than any other place on either side of the Atlantic, for the wisest solution of the many problems of the education of girls and women.

"The indirect influences going out from Ann Arbor have been more subtly good and far-reaching than any man can calculate; and chiefly because, while all the time the doctors have been discussing our bodies, and the clergymen have been warning us about our souls, and many men have been brutal, and many more sentimental, and all of us women ignorant of best ways, and groping in the dark,—all of this important, struggling quarter of a century there has stood quietly in his place at the head of the University of Michigan a *man*, who has been so much a gentleman, that all men about him have been more just and courteous; and all women more hopeful and dutiful and large minded!

"There the air has been clearer, and life has been simpler, and work more strenuous, because of our President's intellectual honesty and hospitality, and his uncommon common sense. Why should not we women, and every child or scholar we have, rise up and bless our good Angell,—our Mr. Great Heart?

"It is more and more amazing to me that you could have done so much at Ann Arbor in so many widely different directions, especially on the sadly deficient resources you have had to work with all these years. In all these years not a single educational reform has escaped your influence; you have found time and means for bettering every scholar in Michigan, from the kindergarten into his professional life,—and so of helping on the reign of right reason everywhere; whether in California or Massachusetts, which are rivals in indebtedness to you,—not to mention China indeed! How many secrets you keep hidden down somewhere in your fountain of perpetual youth! Some time you must tell us about it,—but not yet; for there is *Arbitration* to be brought about, and English and Americans to be taught how to be brothers—and your Committee<sup>1</sup> has work to do! And are we too selfish to ask for twenty-five years more? You have been so generous already, be generous still! Let us find you at the heart of things for many a year to come. Let other feet run the errands, and other hands write the letters—don't answer this!—but please sit in

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXXVII.



the beautiful new library, or on the wide piazza under the trees, and write the wise books so long growing in your brain;—and, not the least, the story of these twenty-five years for the thousands who, like me, owe every thing to *your* University of Michigan.

“We had your good letter with the greatest pleasure, as probably my husband has said. His congratulations and good wishes and love go to you with mine, and he wishes he might sit down with your other sons-in-law, and drink to your health on your anniversary day.”

We have mentioned Gayley's “Ode,” contributed from his professor's chair at Berkeley. It is not so well known as many other works of his that have been sung over and over to easy music—“The Yellow and Blue” and “Goddess of the Inland Seas”—for example. But it is doubtful whether he ever wrote anything surpassing it in beauty and depth of feeling.

## THE ODE

### I.

*The State.*

O State enthroned beside the triple sea,  
Embraced, embattled by his ageless arms,  
Accept our homage, and this strain that we  
With hearts attuned, in all humility,  
As prelude to thy seemlier praises offer thee,—  
And grant us grace to know thy glory, sing thy sovereign charms!

### II.

By forests towering absolute,  
By regions subterranean mute,  
Where treasures sleep and shades obtain,  
Thy rivers haste; by cedared bend, and lane  
Where sumachs hold their crimson reign,  
Through openings where maples shoot,  
By flock and herd and laboring wain,  
Through orchards bourgeoning for fruit  
They wind amain,—  
Through reaches yellowing to grain  
And village, field, and furrowed plain,  
Till leaping, singing,  
They win at last some harbor of the sea—

Where ships at anchor swinging,  
 And thousand belfries ringing,  
 And court and market, render ceaselessly  
 The service of themselves and all to thee.  
 Like stars that stud the firmament, O State,  
 Thy glories, but not these thou bidst us celebrate.

### III.

O State enthroned beside the triple sea,  
 Not all thy borders' rich emblazonry,  
 Nor wealth; nor freedom most ennobles thee,—  
 But thy Fairest—at whose knee  
 We learn that heavenly learning *is* nobility.

### IV.

*The University.*

O Fair—

Mother of Learning and immortal youth,  
 Thy children call thee blessed, know thee wise,  
 Whose smile is beauty, and whose eyes  
 Benignant with the light of love and truth  
 Enkindle hearts of men to high emprise.  
 They call thee blessed,—yea, revere thee, most  
 Because thou teachest, uttering not the boast,  
 That with thy sons it lies  
 To mould the ages, make them less uncouth—  
 To point the people to the life above  
 To tread the path of duty in the freedom that is love.

### V.

O Fair

In peace, in peril beautiful,—  
 They found thee fairest whom thou gavest dutiful  
 To Country and the Name;  
 Thy best and dearest who laid down  
 The crown of myrtle for the crown  
 Of sacrifice and sword and flame  
 And Life that palter not with fate or fortune, fear or fame.



## VI.

Unsure the thread of Fate,  
Uncertain Fortune's wheel,—  
Thine the presence ever-living,  
Thine the inspiration giving  
The courage of the Destiny thou dost reveal!  
Unsure the thread of Fate,  
Uncertain Fortune's wheel,—  
But thy dwelling, gracious Mother—but thy Temple of the State  
Enshrines the Lamp, the living Fire,  
The Book of life and art and soul's desire,  
Ensures the Commonweal—  
And quickens unto service the souls whom thou dost seal.

## VII.

*The President.*

Few the souls afire with ardor of the living fire itself,  
Few the lives that stake no portion of eternity for pelf,  
Few the hearts that petty impulse, gusts of passion do not move,  
Few the men that walk the narrow way of wisdom that is love.  
Who would serve thee, sacred Mother, and preserve thee to the State,  
    Chiefest of thy servants, must be great;  
Great in goodness, great in counsel, resolute and moderate,  
Serving not the time nor temper, moulding men for God and State,  
Fit himself to speak the nation's voice to nations and to arbitrate;  
    In the larger, never hasting purpose,  
        Undisturbed  
In the faith that Right will blossom, and the times uncouth amend,  
And the vulgar babble languish, and the vain desire be curbed.  
If thy fortunes so are guided, have a statesman for their friend,  
    Thy years descend!

## VIII.

Star-like steady, radiant ready, seeing far and seeing right,  
Fire-like glowing, cheer bestowing, generous of heart and light—  
This the statesman-scholar whom we honor in his own despite!  
    Not his burning thoughts nor golden  
    Eloquence alone embolden  
Us to heights with glory smit,  
But his bright example holden

In the heart, unconscious, golden,  
 Life on lives of others writ—  
 Life that tells of longer life within, around, above,  
 Life that treads the path of duty in the freedom that is love,  
 Life that knows the worth of life and shows the wealth of it.  
 Vain the praises that we give him,  
 Vain, unworthy to outlive him,  
 For he recks of praises nothing, counts them neither fair nor fit:  
 He who bears his honors lightly  
 And whose age renews its zest—  
 Lo, the maple, snowed upon, is sightly,  
 And its sap runs best.

## IX.

Honor to him, peace unto him, pointing us the way above,  
 Love unto him, long life to him, whom no love of life can move!  
 Hardly shall we find another  
 When he ceases,—  
 May God grant thee such another  
 Counselor, O Reverend Mother,  
 When he ceases,—  
 Grant us grieving one such other  
 President and friend and brother  
 Ripe in wisdom, just in judgment—whom the years revolving prove—  
 Leading us the way of duty in the freedom that is love.

Two months later while Angell was vacationing at the seashore there came out of another period of his life one more message. A great Chinese statesman, concluding his tour of the world except for passage across the Pacific, sent this message from Vancouver relayed through George F. Seward at New York, "On the eve of my embarkation I send to you and the old China hands a warm greeting and cordial good bye. Li Hung Chang."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Esson Gale, out of his vast experience in China and with the Chinese, is of the opinion that the wording of this message could not be that of a Chinese, even of one of such world-wide contacts as Li. Gale thinks it quite possible that Li told one of his Occidental secretaries on his tour to send a farewell and congratulatory dispatch to Seward, and Angell, and perhaps others, and then left the wording of the message to the secretary. A cultured Chinese, said Gale, would perhaps have put his message in the form of a reference to an appropriate quotation from one of China's ancient poets, which in turn would have been fully understood by its recipient.

It was Li's actual departure from Vancouver, instead of from San Francisco, that furnished the first evidence in the unmasking of the real author of that amazing and monumental hoax, *The Memoirs of Li Hung Chang*.



# *Minister to Turkey. I*

## CHAPTER XXVIII

*F*or many years the Turkish empire had been a problem in the chancelleries of Europe, while the cruelties that characterized its domestic administration had made it an abomination in the minds and hearts of Christian men and women all over the world. The empire had long fallen from the power of its high estate; it was no longer a military threat to the West. But its geographical location made its ultimate absorption by Russia the hope of the czar and the fear of the rest of Europe. What was called "the Concert of Powers" utterly failed, through its own internal differing selfish purposes, in accomplishing any of the reforms for which the Powers ostensibly yearned. Russia wanted to extend her boundaries to include the fortifications on the Bosphorus blocking her access to the warm waters of the south, and while unable to bring this about was able to prevent the resolution of Turkish affairs on any other basis. The other Powers could not afford a solution that would so greatly add to the strength of the already feared Muscovite. Each sought to build up its own influence in Turkey, first France and then Germany in particular. While feeling among individual Englishmen ran very high, it cannot be denied that the British government's course did little toward making life in Turkey any more comfortable, or any less shocking and repulsive to people in other parts of the world who cherished humanitarian and liberal ideas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "More significant than the loss of territory [which Turkey had suffered] was the structural weakness of the government which transplanted into nineteenth-century Europe institutions better adapted to medieval Asia. It is not too much to say that at all times after the seventeenth century the Ottoman Empire existed only by permission of the European powers, who were jointly and sometimes even singly able to conquer it by force of arms, but were far too jealous of each other to permit the experiment to be tried. Many statesmen preferred to see a weak and decadent authority in possession of the Near East and, above all, of the key position of Constantinople where the land routes from Europe to Asia cross the sea route from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. So strong a strategic position might become danger-

In an earlier decade "Christian" Bulgaria had been the scene of atrocities that horrified the world. After the Russians' capture of the fortress of Plevna in 1877, following a siege of 143 days, Bulgaria and other Balkan states were virtually sliced off the Turkish empire, whose European lands were thus greatly reduced. Southern Greece had already gone in 1832. Somewhat before Plevna, Sultan Abdul Hamid had succeeded respectively his uncle, Abdul Aziz, and his brother, Murad, on the throne. The succession was garnished by the suicide or the murder of Abdul Aziz, under circumstances favoring the latter interpretation. Murad was kept closely confined as a mental incompetent for many years. The British ambassador was deeply involved in this revolution that elevated Abdul Hamid. In his *Fifty Years in Constantinople* George Washburn, for many years President of Robert College, says of Abdul, "Very little was known about him even by the Turks, but he was supposed to be a quiet, unobtrusive man with little knowledge of political affairs, who would be a tool in the hands of the conspirators who had deposed his uncle and brother. It was not long before they and the world were undeceived."<sup>2</sup>

The Powers called a European conference which met in Constantinople late in the year 1876. But while the conference was in an early session, the sound of cannon interrupted the proceedings, and the conferees were told by the Turks that the guns signaled the adoption of a new constitution promulgated by the new Sultan, which inaugurated a new and liberal parliamentary government, and that there was no longer any need of a conference. Washburn characterized the new constitution as "full of sonorous words and phrases, borrowed from similar documents, but [it] was altogether worthless as a charter of liberty and not adapted to the conditions of the country." But the Turks outlasted the conference, which ultimately adjourned in impotence. The Sultan went through the farce of calling a session of the new parliament in March, 1877, which was opened by Abdul in person. The session lasted through June, when the Sultan dissolved it. At the end of that year another session was called, only to have the members sent home after a few weeks. That was the end of parliamentary government in Turkey for thirty years, until the Young Turks took over. For a man "with little knowl-

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ous in strong hands! The Ottoman Empire was a belated survival of the ecclesiastical state, bound together by the privileges of a creed rather than by race, language, or national sentiment." Preston Slosson, *Europe Since 1870* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin, 1935), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople . . .* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), p. 115.



edge of political affairs," the pale, bearded, mask-faced Abdul had got off to a very good start as an oriental despot, and for three full decades he was never to be long interrupted in his unrelenting though sometimes hesitating, twisting, turning, devious course down the field of history. He lived in fear of assassination, and in the determination to preserve in his own hands his despotic power by any opportunist ways that presented themselves. Like Philip of Spain in an earlier time he sat, a spider in his palace, spinning the webs that should protect him and his empire by keeping out whatever threatened to enter to his possible disadvantage and by entangling and destroying any enemies within. He was the head of the dominant religion, and he worked through a bureaucracy of his personal satellites, each of whom was dependent on him for his office and was responsible to him alone for any failures.

Two of the things he most feared, different facets of one whole, were the Christian missionaries and the Christianized Armenians. The latter formed a great mass of shrewd, vigorous, aggressive and perhaps not overscrupulous<sup>3</sup> people in Turkey's northeastern territory, opposed to Mohammedanism, the religion about which had centered the Turkish military power in the conquering days of its past and which was still its center of coherence. The Armenians having no foreign power in back of them, as the missionaries had, while far more numerous were also far more vulnerable. The foreign Christian missionaries who resisted the temptation, often strong, to antagonize the government, were generally not interfered with, except when mobs sprang up at times of Armenian disturbances. Robert College, "where loyalty to the Sovereign was preached and prayers were offered for the Sultan," was never molested.<sup>4</sup> The Armenians were not always discreet. In particular, there developed among them "professional" revolutionaries who, at home and abroad, actively plotted risings against the government. It is certain that such risings, hopeless from their inception, were sometimes fanned into flame with the idea that the massacres they would precipitate would serve in western countries to rouse indignant and horrified people to demand in-

<sup>3</sup> In 1896 Angell wrote to his wife from New York, relative to an interview he had had there with a party including Mr. William E. Dodge, a power in missionary affairs: "We discussed first the status of Armenian refugees, sent by Miss Willard & Lady Somerset from Marseilles & detained at quarantine by the Emigration Com.rs, because of the law forbidding the landing of destitute persons. It was decided to apply to the Sec'y of the Treasury in their behalf.

"When I incidentally called attention to the mischievous acts of some of the Armenians, Mr. Dodge remarked that he had just been cheated out of \$9000 by an Armenian from Boston."

<sup>4</sup> Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, p. 227.

tervention by their own governments in the affairs of "the Unspeakable Turk." There can be no question that the commonly good natured and friendly Turk could be roused to acts of utmost ferocity by attacks on his religion or his sultan, head of that religion. And immediately beyond the Armenians to the north were hordes of Kurds, who needed even less stimulus to savagery.

Emboldened by realization of his safety from interference by foreign governments, the Sultan made up his mind that now was the time to rid himself of the most discordant element in his empire. Mobs were stirred up, and soldiers sent ostensibly to give protection from the mobs frequently joined them or at best ignored them. The Bulgarian massacres of an earlier decade, were succeeded and equaled in bloody inhumanity by others throughout Armenia. Then in August, 1896, when armed revolutionaries took possession of the Ottoman Bank in Constantinople the occurrence served as a fuse to set off a massacre of not less than ten thousand Armenians in that city alone in the short space of two days and nights. The killings were largely of men only, but counting as well those who fled from the city in successive weeks to escape death, torture, or imprisonment, the Armenian population of Constantinople was estimated by Washburn to have been reduced by some seventy-five thousand, and the women and children remaining were often in most abject poverty. Naturally, the events stirred up further sporadic outbreaks of the sort against Armenians and their missionary friends in outlying sections of the country. "The 'Concert of Europe' did nothing. It accepted the situation. The German Emperor went further. He sent a special embassy to present to the Sultan a portrait of his family as a token of his esteem."<sup>5</sup>

It was into the aftermath of this situation that the United States projected James B. Angell, as Minister, charged particularly with the protection of the missionaries in the future and with collecting from the Sultan appropriate damages for injury already done to American missionary property. His appointment was hailed with delight by the missionary boards in America and by the missionaries on the ground in Turkey. Most of the congratulatory letters of this brief period surviving in the Angell files were from men engaged in missionary work in one of the two countries. But not everybody was favorable to missionaries. John Sherman, then McKinley's Secretary of State, believed that on the whole the missionaries did more international harm than good, while Angell's old friend, Edward J. Phelps, recently returned from the British am-

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.



bassadorship, wrote him a note in which he said: "Congratulations I think are rather due to the country than to you. We are lucky to find a man like you for the place. I hope & believe the unspeakable Turk will take kindly to you & you to him. If you can contrive to clear out the American missionaries you will do both countries a service."

Soon after the proposed appointment was made public, brief opposition arose from two sources. One grew out of a newspaper report that in Chattanooga Angell had seriously criticized Russia's attitude in affairs of the Near East, making accusations of having fomented disturbances. Criticisms on this score were removed by his denial of the statement attributed to him, and after his arrival in Constantinople his relations with no member of the diplomatic corps were more pleasant than with Mr. Nelidoff, the Russian ambassador. The objections of the Sultan himself on another point were illustrative of Turkish ignorance of the West. When the monarch learned that Angell was a Congregationalist, he confused this branch of the Protestant Church with the congregation of the Jesuits, an organization that had incurred his displeasure. This objection was naturally easily removed.<sup>6</sup>

The Angells were in the South when President McKinley sent Angell's name to the Senate, where it was promptly confirmed. On his return to Ann Arbor, the Regents granted him a leave of absence for a year. Whether he already foresaw that if he could not accomplish within that period the purpose for which he was going he might as well come home, or whether he did not want to be away longer than a year anyway, today is past finding out. The appointment of an interim substitute was the occasion of a minor tempest. When Professor Martin L. D'Ooge, the senior dean in years of service, learned that Harry B. Hutchins, who had been Dean of the Department of Law for but two years, was to be made Acting President, he promptly resigned as Dean of the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts, and was succeeded by

<sup>6</sup> The author recalls a similar misconception. Whether it was candid or was humorously intentional remains unknown. In Quebec of a Sunday afternoon many years ago, in company with his wife, the late Dr. Louis P. Hall, of the Dental School, and Mrs. Hall, the party hired one of the famous calashes with its driver, James Murray, to take us about the city. Late in the excursion Dr. Hall, always a sunny humorist, said to the driver, "Mr. Murray, you have shown us many Catholic churches, and you have shown us the Church of England. Mrs. Hall and I are Episcopalians so we are satisfied. But Mr. and Mrs. Smith are Congregationalists, and they feel a little hurt that you have neglected their denomination. Can't you show them a Congregational Church?" Promptly came the reply: "Why sure! Av coorse! Right over there." We looked in the direction he pointed with his whip, and saw an enormous pile of masonry, on the wall of which was a great bronze plaque reading "Congregation of the Paulist Fathers."

Professor Richard Hudson. This appointment furnished the still enduring precedent for the choice of deans by the Regents instead of by the faculty concerned.

As an illustration of student devotion to the President, the Literary Class of 1897 appointed a committee to wait upon him for the purpose of securing his promise to sign their diplomas before he left or to have them sent on to Turkey for his signature there. This committee consisted of Shirley W. Smith, Edson R. Sunderland, today professor emeritus of law and legal research, Edwin H. Humphrey, and Jessie Hunter Smith. The latter two are long since deceased. One recalls the urbanity and complacency with which the President explained that arrangements had been made by which he could stay in Ann Arbor until after Commencement. The committee went away with a half-formed impression that he had contrived the matter thus largely because he himself so much desired to sign the diplomas of this class.

General Lew Wallace of *Ben Hur* fame, who had been minister to Turkey from 1881 to 1885, wrote to Angell on a practical note: "Touching the salary of the Minister at Constantinople—one can live on it respectably. I advise, however, that you do not attempt housekeeping. Rather than that, secure a suite of rooms at one of the hotels. It will prove more convenient, and excuses attempts at ambitious entertainments. I made out with \$7500; your \$10,000. is materially better. Another point in your favor is that the entertaining is done by the ambassadors, who used to laugh at the ministers when they tried to reply in kind. They regarded efforts of the sort as an invasion of their superior privileges based on their superior rank."<sup>7</sup> Clearly, the Angells would not have to carry their groceries with them as was the case when they went to China. And a letter came from Andrew D. White, not so thrifty in its tone, but like everything White ever wrote of the University, overflowing with affection: "When I saw you were gazetted last evening as Minister to Constantinople I said to my wife, 'If I were put upon oath I would swear that this is the best foreign appointment, by far, that the present Administration has made.' This I now reiterate in cold blood." White hoped that they might arrange to sail for Europe together—a plan that did not work out. Rowland Hazard, for perhaps the last time in his life, was able to send to Angell one of his letters breathing the pride and affection of boyhood.

<sup>7</sup> The American Mission to the Sublime Porte was not raised to ambassadorial status until the time of John G. A. Leishman, Minister from 1900 to 1906, and Ambassador thereafter till 1909.



There was a repetition of the farewells that had sent them off to China nearly two decades previously. The Michigan legislature by a special resolution thanked President McKinley for the honor to the state involved in the appointment, and the Regents in glowing words voted him the year's leave he asked for, with part salary, \$3,000. At that, by the Angell-Hutchins arrangement, the canny Regents saved \$1,000 from the regular salaries of the President and the Dean.

The Angells left Ann Arbor on July 14 and sailed on the S.S. "Normandie" from New York on the seventeenth. They missed the children who on the mission to China had contributed the spirit of youth to that enterprise. But the ever-faithful Kate Martin was again with them. While they were in Paris they had to change the plans they had made for an overland journey to Constantinople, as floods blocked all railway transportation in Austria. The voyage from Marseilles to the Porte on the S.S. "Senegal" included a view of Athens, but through so thick an August haze that Mrs. Angell recorded she could not distinguish even the outlines of the Parthenon and the Acropolis, but with wifely loyalty—"of course Mr. Angell could."<sup>8</sup>

They landed at Constantinople on August 18 and were properly met at the wharf by the secretary of the legation, the consul, and a representative of the Sultan's government. Following General Wallace's advice they took lodgings at a hostelry known as the Summer Palace Hotel, whence Angell began to make the conventional calls on the members of the diplomatic corps, of whom in his *Reminiscences* he gives brief character sketches. The missionaries soon made themselves known and the Angells made them welcome. A commissioner of the American Board had written even before they left New York—very possibly with some unfairness to Angell's predecessor, Mr. Terrell: "You can hardly know with what interest they [missionaries in Turkey] learned of your appointment. They feel that our country will now have a representative who will not refuse to receive the evidence of the missionary upon a case simply because he is a missionary, nor will they expect their evidence to be worth more than that of another not a missionary who is equally accessible to the facts.

"I am sure you will find Dr. Dwight<sup>9</sup> a man of marked ability and

<sup>8</sup> Mrs. Angell's diaries cover the whole period of the mission and, in spite of a vast amount of religious meditation, give numerous sidelights on Turkey and the Turks, Armenians, missionary enterprises, and the ministerial problems involved. Unhappily, the diary that Angell himself kept has not been available. It may sometime come to light.

<sup>9</sup> The Reverend Henry O. Dwight, born in Constantinople of missionary parents,

able to furnish a great deal of general information upon the situation there. He will not I am sure volunteer anything of the kind, but I hope you will feel perfectly free to call upon him. As far as that is concerned any missionary in the field will be ready to render you any and every assistance in his power. You can depend upon this. Dr. Washburn, of Robert College, who is just now in America but who will be back there in September, is another man of large ability and has wide grasp of the conditions which prevail in that country."

Over against the missionary was the lethargic Turk. Instances will be given of the problems posed by this sluggishness. Suffice it here to record a conversation Angell had at a later day with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with whom he had come to feel a considerable degree of friendly intimacy: "One day, after the completion of a little transaction which had dragged along for weeks, I said with some impatience to Tewfik Pasha, 'Why do you have such ways of doing business? I have heard that you are cousins to the Chinese. And you do have this same habit of provoking delay in finishing a task which in America we should do in fifteen minutes. Why is it?' With his amiable smile, which partially disarmed me, he replied, 'Well, I can only say that is our way.' And that was the only explanation."<sup>10</sup>

A third force—a potency to whose control he must adjust all his endeavors—was of course the American State Department. Before he sailed Alvey A. Adee, second assistant secretary, had written him a friendly note promising to see that all his instructions would be forwarded in season. Then he concluded: "As for the claims, detailed instructions in each case are unnecessary, for the Dept's repeated dispatches cover all points. A general instruction to take up all unsettled claims will probably suffice, and I understand it is now in preparation."

A few months later Adee wrote: "I watch your reports with the interest you may naturally suppose I feel in the good work of an old friend. After the first flush of inevitable disheartenment at Ottoman procrastination and duplicity passed, you probably realized, at least I so infer from your dispatches, that you can accomplish something in the long run by persistent nagging, at the Foreign Office in the first instance, which counts for precious little,—next with the Grand Vizier, who counts for somewhat more, and last of all, with the Great Panjandrum himself, who *is* the State. Mr. Terrell made the mistake of attacking the Sultan

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a missionary by birth and life work, though he was an officer in an Ohio regiment in the American Civil War. He lived till 1917.

<sup>10</sup> *Reminiscences*, pp. 200–201.



first, but as far as I could see, got nothing except some few fair promises and a number of excellent dinners. Digestion, by the way, does not influence diplomacy as much in Turkey as in countries where the champagne and burgundy flow more freely.

“Anyhow you will be able to have a tolerably good time in and around Yildiz, even if you do not accomplish as much as you might in Berlin or Rome.”

On September 3, he was received by the Sultan and was really launched on the new diplomatic sea.

# *Minister to Turkey. II*

## CHAPTER XXIX

*As a preliminary* to an audience with the Sultan he had what he later regarded as an amusing experience with the Grand Vizier, with whom arrangements for his formal reception were to be made. A scrapbook kept by Mrs. Alexis Angell has this cutting from the *New York Times*: "The only language common to both himself and the Grand Vizier was French. Dr. Angell made what he always insisted was the poorest speech of his life, but no sooner had he finished than the Vizier began to clap his hands. Dr. Angell rose and bowed his thanks. Immediately the Grand Vizier rose and ceremoniously bowed the new Minister to the door. Dr. Angell was mystified but took his departure. It was not until later that he learned that the Grand Vizier always clapped his hands to summon his secretary, and when he saw Dr. Angell rise he thought he wished to depart and so politely bowed him out."

The Minister's wife begins her diary of September 3: "This day my dear husband is to be received by his Highness the Sultan. Our morning devotions were peculiarly touching. He takes up this great responsibility as he does every duty that comes to him in solemn and absolute dependence on the help of an Almighty Arm. We had many little details to attend to in getting him off. There were 7 that went down in the\_\_\_\_\_." <sup>1</sup> Later in the day on her return to the hotel she "found his excellency in fine spirits having had his official audience with the Emperor and still finding himself in possession of all his faculties. Of course it was most interesting to hear his account of all his experiences but as he has written them out in his diary I will not repeat them with my more clumsy pen."

The Minister himself recalled in his *Reminiscences*: "The whole staff of the Legation and the Consulate were present. Court carriages came for us. The Assistant Introducer, Ghabit Bey, who had called on me in the name of the Sultan, on my arrival, occupied the carriage with me and

<sup>1</sup> The name of the craft is undecipherable.



my dragoman.<sup>2</sup> The soldiers at all the guard houses saluted as we passed. Arriving at the Imperial Palace, the Yildiz Kiosk, Munir Pasha, the Chamberlain, met us. Officers in brilliant uniform were gathered in the large reception room. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Tewfik Pasha, then escorted me to a smaller room, where the Sultan was standing by the side of a small table. He wore his semi-military blue frock coat with no binding and wore many jewels and decorations. I read my speech in English, of which one copy in English and one in French had already been sent. The Turkish Secretary then read a Turkish version. The Sultan replied in a low but pleasant voice, substantially reciprocating the wishes and sentiments I had expressed. The Secretary also in a gentle tone rendered the Sultan's speech in French. The bearing of the Sultan was affable and cordial.

"I then withdrew to the salon, where cigarettes and light refreshments were served. The great hero of the Russo-Turkish War, Osman Pasha, and other notable persons were present. After a little we returned to the Legation and served refreshments to the guests."

The next day there was another gathering at the American legation. Mrs. Angell was not favorably impressed, and wrote: "A short walk brought us to the forlorn set of rooms called the Legation. I wish I could go before Congress and state to them my unprejudiced opinion of that place. It is simply a disgrace to call such a dirty dingy hole the official home of a great country like ours. Republican simplicity is one thing but dark dingy naked rooms with small space for anything that can be called the courtesies of the position is an insult to the Republic. I do not blame the wives of the Ministers for declining to stay here, and subject themselves to the necessity of apologizing for their country!"

Now came the serious business for which the Minister had gone to Turkey. The dispatches from Turkey recorded in the State Department *Foreign Relations* of 1896 and 1897 are largely taken up with the recital of the circumstances involved in the destruction or damage of American missionary property, though there are a number of letters which state that no injuries had occurred in the districts covered or that damages inflicted had been slight. But a multitude of most serious complaints arose from other missions and schools, especially those staffed in part by native teachers, in particular by Armenians.

Periods of insurrection by groups of Armenian revolutionaries had stimulated outrages which were not in direct connection with the revolutionary disturbance—the sort of isolated troubles that spring up in

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the legation's interpreter.

all times of disorder when the popular mind is inflamed. The basic point in dispute was most often whether the damage was done by mobs or by the Turkish soldiers sent ostensibly for the protection of the missions, or whether they occurred with the connivance of these troops. The fanaticism of the Kurds in their enmity for the Armenians was a frequent factor. Sworn statements of numerous Americans substantiated American claims. At Harpoot, in particular, American property had been destroyed by shell fire from Turkish guns, and burning buildings had been looted by Turkish troops, even though, meanwhile, other Turkish troops sometimes with vigor, sometimes languidly, had been trying to extinguish the fire. Detachments of troops, after accepting what money the missionaries offered them in hope of securing their protection, departed from the scene with laughter. Guns supposed to defend from advancing Kurds were fired into the ground or into the air. Scattered over the country were a number of incidents in which the missionaries spoke in high terms of the soldiers and of the defense they provided, but these were few in comparison with the complaints.

Not till the very last dispatch of 1897 does the name of Angell appear in the *Foreign Relations*—this in a communication from Secretary John Sherman to the new Minister. In this dispatch the Secretary writes: "A review of the correspondence in this relation shows that in every case of this kind the Turkish Government either ignores or distorts the abundantly supported contention of this Government that the injuries to American property during the recent disorders were suffered through the insufficiency of the protective measures afforded. A government being able to quell and not quelling such disorders, and damage to American property having resulted, the United States contends that Turkey can be held responsible under a well-recognized principle of international law. A general disclaimer of responsibility, such as is set forth in his excellency's present note, can not, therefore, be accepted, and you are instructed to press for a specific reply to the repeated demands of this Government that Turkey acknowledge liability, urging the desirability of a just and prompt settlement of this and other indemnity claims, that the friendly relations which have hitherto existed between the two Governments may continue uninterrupted."

The Minister was thus given an explicit blueprint of the operation he was to conduct. The legal-minded Acting President Harry B. Hutchins in a letter from Ann Arbor summed up the situation thus: "I should suppose that the task would be a difficult one, something like the collecting of a judgment from a defendant who is 'execution-proof.'"



In the face of the delaying action that Turkish diplomats always carried on, there was surely abundant opportunity for the "persistent nagging" recommended by Mr. Adee.

The interviews "nagging" Turkish officials from the Sultan down with respect to the claims were all about alike inconclusive, though now and then there were promises—which were not kept. The Minister did not, however, lessen the number of his calls at the Palace or on officials of lower rank. There was one attempt at face-saving by adding \$30,000 to the agreed price of a warship ordered by Turkey from the Cramp shipyard in Philadelphia, with the provision that this excess was to be turned over to the United States government to apply on the settlement of claims.<sup>3</sup> But it was "three years and two ministers later" (Oscar Straus and J. G. A. Leishman), when in the summer of 1901, Mr. Leishman notified the Secretary of State that he had received from the Porte nineteen thousand pounds sterling in final settlement, and had deposited the sum in the Ottoman Bank of Constantinople. From there it was ultimately transmitted to Washington.

Angell always believed that the outbreak of the Spanish-American War was responsible for the Sultan's failure to make good on the promises of settlement. The Minister had been assured by President McKinley that naval vessels would visit the Turkish coast, and the ships came. But with the outbreak of the war they promptly left via Suez for Manila. With their departure, the Sultan seemingly thanked Allah and took courage, becoming thereafter an almost wholly inert body though still polite withal. The U.S.S. "Bancroft," however, had given the Minister the most exciting hours of his entire stay in Constantinople.

Shortly after midnight on the morning of December 4, 1897, the "Bancroft" came up the channel leading to the harbor of Smyrna. The lights of the port were burning, and Admiral Selfridge, in command, had no means of knowing that the harbor was supposed by anybody, Turkish or foreign, to be closed at night, though it had been so closed during the recently ended war between Turkey and Greece. Without warning a cannon shot was fired from the fort, across the ship's bow. The engines were immediately reversed, but before headway could be

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Washburn to Angell on April 3, 1899: "The Turks have not yet paid the indemnity to Mr. Straus but they have devised a plan for paying it without committing themselves to the principle of paying, without acknowledging that they have paid it. They are contracting for an iron-clad in the United States and they will add the indemnity to the price of the ship so that it will appear that it is paid by the contractor, although in fact the money is to be paid here by the Turks to the Legation. Could any Yankee inventor go ahead of that?"

checked, two musket volleys were fired, and later a bullet from one of these was picked up on the vessel's deck. Admiral Selfridge then ordered a small boat carrying the United States colors to go ashore and find out the cause of the hostile behavior. This boat likewise met musketry fire, and, though no damage was done, it turned back to the ship which then anchored for the rest of the night. After notice of these events from the Admiral, the Minister acted with all the promptness and vigor he had displayed in the disturbances at the missionary's house in Peking nearly eighteen years previously, though no horseback galloping was required.<sup>4</sup> He made the Smyrna events the subject of his longest dispatch from Turkey printed in the *Foreign Relations* and was able to conclude his letter with a statement of settlement satisfactory to Admiral Selfridge and to the honor of the American government. For once there had been no more than momentary procrastination by the Turk.

Following this episode Dean Victor C. Vaughan wrote Angell a congratulatory letter, enclosing with it a cartoon from the *Detroit Journal*, entitled, "And the Angell Appeared unto the Sultan." The "Angell" with throat beard rampant and sword flashing was a fearsome thing before which the Sultan sat terror-stricken upon a trembling throne. This play upon his name was only one instance of the puns that followed Angell throughout all the days of his life.

Matters growing out of the Spanish-American War furnished the Minister with some amusement—excepting always the depressing departure of the American warships. He was not amused, though pleased, that while the official relations between the American and Spanish ministers were interrupted, their personal relations continued friendly. Some Spanish warships reached Port Said and needed coal before they could move further, and Angell smiled to himself when Tewfik Pasha asked him what international law required of Turkey. He felt sure that the Turk knew what the law was without asking. In any event Angell told him it was permissible to give the Spaniards only the coal required for their return home, and that was what they received—doubtless to the advantage of Spain's naval inventory when the war ended. But the circumstance that really gave him amusement was the explanation he received when he asked why the great mass of Turks in the capital, unlike so many foreign nationalities, were sympathetic with the American cause: "Why, don't you remember that three hundred years ago these Spaniards drove the Mohammedans out of their land? Allah is great. The time of punishment for them has come." To the Turk of 1898,

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 147-48.



the Minister reflected, three hundred years is as a watch in the night.

He had amusement, if annoyance also, from the Turkish customs, which for weeks refused to allow a shipment of hospital supplies to land because there was included a very small bottle of carbolic acid, "which could be used in the manufacture of gun cotton!" This adventure in diplomacy was not sweetened for him when, as he felt he was approaching success, the official with whom he had been arguing was succeeded by another, and the whole matter reverted to its very beginning.

He records in his *Reminiscences*: "One comical case occurred. Robert College had appointed a young graduate of an American college to teach the Oriental boys not only some branch of book learning but also the American game of base ball. In examining his baggage, the custom officers came upon a pitcher's mask.<sup>5</sup> 'What is this?' they asked themselves. 'Some new kind of revolutionary weapon?' They detained it as a strangely suspected article. After a week's deliberation and full explanation by the American consul it was permitted to enter."

Angell noted that the Sultan's ever-present fear was believed to be responsible for the fact that the city of Constantinople, with nearly a million inhabitants, had no local mail service. A note from one resident to another required a special messenger. The Sultan had suppressed the former mail service "because he received so many threatening postal cards and because conspirators could by mail easily mature dangerous schemes."

Angell records his own experience with the Sultan's ever-present spy system. One evening in a restaurant a dignified Arab speaking good English drew him into a conversation that very evidently was designed to extract from him a criticism of the Sultan or his government. The canny old veteran records that he "ventured to remark that a monarchy presided over by a just sovereign was an edifying spectacle and that even in republics there were found sometimes corrupt men in office. He seemed surprised at my remarks and proceeded to eulogize republican governments. I continued my commendations of enlightened monarchies. The conversation ran on in this way for half an hour, when he bade me adieu, but as I flattered myself without any game for his bag."

There were questions of withholding of passports for travel in the interior from American citizens and British subjects, while other nationalities were free from such difficulties. These questions were gen-

<sup>5</sup> This misnomer of a part of the catcher's equipment perhaps makes the Minister's record even more "comical" than the affair he described.

erally resolved on an individual basis. Problems concerning Americans of Jewish descent or of Turkish birth but American naturalization were continually arising. The former were ordinarily more easily settled than the latter, as since 1869 Turkish law prevented renunciation by Turks of their nationality except by special permission. This Turkish law grew justifiably out of the abuses by foreign powers of their right under the so-called "Capitulations," to take Turkish subjects in Turkish territory under the protection of the foreign nation. Turks became in effect naturalized Austrians, or Russians, or Frenchmen without ever leaving Turkey.<sup>6</sup> Purchase and ownership of real estate by Jews brought to Angell and to Oscar Straus, his immediate successor, problems likewise ordinarily settled on an individual basis. The regulations unfavorable to Hebrews seemingly went back to a time when Russian expulsions threatened certain Turkish provinces with a foreign inundation, and the rules then adopted hung on after the threat passed. Missionaries of the Mormon faith had to have special attention also. And there were troubles within the Minister's own household, when he had to defend his dragoman or interpreter from extensive charges brought against him by jealous fellow Turks. Angell's report to Secretary Sherman with respect to this man's faithfulness and intelligence, not printed in the *Foreign Relations*, covers fifteen pages, including a lengthy description of the charges and the methods of investigation, and the reasons for exonerating him and for retaining his competent services as long as he could be had, or "until our Government trains up an American for the place. But in respect to the desirableness of providing . . . ultimately a competent American no one can feel more strongly than I . . . In all oriental countries we ought to have thoroughly trained Americans as interpreters in our legations and consulates. If the Government would give assurances that the position of interpreter or dragoman would be permanent and well paid, I think there would be no difficulty in inducing well educated young men, of high character, to take appointments in all oriental countries and prepare themselves for the work. Congress could do nothing more helpful to our diplomatic and consular service in the East than to make provision for thus training competent interpreters."<sup>7</sup>

During the year John Sherman was succeeded by William R. Day, a

<sup>6</sup> See "The Turkish Capitulations" in *Selected Addresses*. This was a paper read by Angell before the American Historical Association, in Detroit, in December, 1900. The "Capitulations" signified "headings" in the international agreements originally entered into with satisfaction to both parties.

<sup>7</sup> See "Consular Reforms" by James B. Angell, *Mich. Alumnus*, December, 1902.



Michigan graduate in the Class of 1870, who later became a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. When Day was appointed to the commission to make a treaty of peace with Spain at the close of the brief war, he in turn was succeeded by John Hay. The latter on October 8, 1897, had written from the American embassy in London to his old friend and teacher:

"My dear Colleague:

"I wish I might have the use of an astral body for a few weeks, so that while my work-a-day presence might continue at its daily drudgery here, my better part might hie to 'Yonder Shining Orient' and look in on you in that most interesting city, which I saw once, in too great a hurry.

"Time and youth and the gift of tongues are all necessary for the appreciation of Constantinople. You have all of these advantages and no doubt are enjoying every hour of your days."

Especially for an almost fanatical devotee of pedestrianism, life was not quite so idyllic as Hay imagined. The Angells had early left the summer hotel for another in the city, where they were reasonably comfortable for the winter, except that "the streets are narrow and not over-clean, for the most part largely devoid of sidewalks, so that I find it hard to get good long walks which are agreeable."

But in the summer of 1898 the Angells lived in the mansion of friends on the island of Prinkipo in the Sea of Marmora, and here Hay's picture materialized. In her diary of June 3, Mrs. Angell writes: "It takes a good deal of our time to admire the exquisite views from the balcony. This place is almost a little Paradise . . . [On an evening drive] the lights on the sea were unearthly in their delicate beauty . . . As Mr. Angell says for the first time we are tasting the Luxury of the place. A lovely house, our [launch], our carriage and good and devoted servants it is indeed a rare combination."

But the real heights of pleasure had come to them earlier, in their tour of Egypt and the Holy Land during the sixty-day leave permitted the Minister. The Angells and Kate Martin left Constantinople on January 26. Arriving at Cairo on the thirtieth they stayed at the immortal Sheppard's Hotel. They visited first the University of Cairo, where the life, in tourist eyes, bore slight resemblance to any university they had previously visualized except that there were many boys about. They made a trip up the Nile, and a loose-leaf diary page bears the imprint "Cook's Nile Steamboat Services." They rode camels out to the pyramids and visited all the other usual points of interest. Angell's

thoughts were turned back to his home state one day when he found himself astride a donkey named, as he learned on inquiry, "Kalamazoo." Another deeper and quite contrary emotion, one of foreboding, was aroused by news of the destruction of the "Maine" in Havana harbor. And everywhere they found missions and missionaries, among the latter Miss Anna Duncan, a Michigan student in 1894-1895.

On March 1 the party left Cairo for Port Said, and thence by steamer to Jaffa. On March 2 they went by train from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Here the friendly hand of the Sultan showed itself in that by his orders Turkish officialdom showered the party with practical assistance and many formal courtesies. The monarch's concern for their comfort and for honors due had been in no wise solicited and both surprised and pleased them. On March 2 Mrs. Angell wrote of their arrival in Jerusalem by rail: "The station is outside of the ancient city walls and when we drew in behold the Consul and the Chief Dragoman and a cavalry escort . . . So with much pomp we entered the Sacred City driving under Mount Zion and entering by the Jaffa Gate." During their three weeks' stay in the Holy Land, besides seeing the sacred spots in Jerusalem itself, they visited other points which the Biblical narrative had made fascinating to them. In her diary Mrs. Angell mentions, not in this order, Bethlehem, the Holy Sepulchre, the tomb of Rachel, Nazareth, Mount Moriah, the Mosque of Omar, near which was the ruin of a part of Solomon's Temple, the Via Dolorosa, the "Green Hill Far Away," the Mount of Olives, the Pool of Siloam, the Wailing Wall, and so on endlessly. They went to Jericho, saw the River Jordan and the Brook Cherith where, we are told, the ravens fed the prophet Elijah. The Dead Sea was "the concentrated essence of salt," and Mrs. Angell almost wished she had left that to the imagination. They greatly regretted inability to include the Sea of Galilee. At Beirut they were charmed by the family of the president of the college, by the college itself, and by the college grounds—"almost as beautiful as Robert College." Their company on this trip included Hamilton Fish II and Oscar Straus's brother Isidor,<sup>8</sup> and their families. They visited Damascus, where Mrs. Angell found on their arrival "an alarming array of municipal and military officials and we went to the

<sup>8</sup> After the death of Isidor Straus and his wife in the "Titanic" disaster, Oscar Straus wrote President Angell on April 24, 1912: "Your sweet and sympathetic letter in our sorrow and mourning, is deeply appreciated.

"My brother often spoke of his delightful journey with you in the Holy Land, while you were Minister to Turkey. He and his wife treasured it as a privilege to have been with you and your dear wife in the Holy Land.

"May the Lord bless and preserve you for many more years."



hotel in the municipal carriages. I was in the carriage with the head of the municipality, a good natured old Turk with projecting teeth and a smile like a Cheshire cat, who spoke neither French nor English and my Arabic is somewhat limited. So we could only use the sign language, but we got on fairly well,—and [demurely] the drive was not long. As soon as we could we took a carriage, and with our private dragoman and our Consul's kavass [guard] we went out to see all we could before dark." To them Damascus all but breathed of Paul the Apostle. However, Mrs. Angell gave space to their visit to the bejeweled house of the "richest man in Damascus, which seemed a complete realization of the tales of the Arabian Nights—but how absolutely uncomfortable and unnatural for daily living." Here spoke the New England-born, midwestern housewife and grandmother. Returning to the hotel from this drive, "we had some tea and took formal leave of our distinguished escorts—and how glad we were." From Damascus their route led to Beirut, and thence by a very rough sea voyage to Smyrna and the neighboring remains of the once great city of Ephesus, with its footsteps of St. Paul. The steamer landed the Angells at Constantinople on March 23, well inside the sixty-day limit of the Minister's leave.

Back in ministerial harness the nagging process began again. But the powerful arguments furnished by the Navy soon departed for Manila, and the encouragement the Minister had earlier felt soon languished. In her diary of June 7, Mrs. Angell notes this: "I think he is much disappointed that he has accomplished so little that he hoped to do in this country." It may be added that his successor, Oscar Straus, who for a time had been quite openly complacent about what he was bringing about, left with similar but stronger feeling. Of him, George Washburn wrote Angell in January, 1900, "I do not blame Mr. Straus; probably no one could have done better, but he is bitterly disappointed. The truth is that things have grown steadily worse since you were here." And in March, "The Sultan also repudiates everything which Mr. Straus claims was promised to him—even to the irade for our new building for which he actually gave the needed permission last August—only we never got the papers—now he claims it was never given."

Robert College and the affiliated Woman's College constituted one spot in Turkey which the Angells genuinely regretted to leave. Not only the President but the faculty had won their respect and their affection. The location of the college buildings, in themselves attractive, at Roumeli Hissar was the most beautiful tract along the Bosphorus. The students of Robert College, mostly Armenians, Bulgarians, and Greeks,

were the honorable successors to men who had become civic leaders in their respective countries. There were a few Turks but not many. During his residency Angell was a frequent speaker at chapel, exhibitions, and commencement. The friendship with President Washburn led to a visit in Ann Arbor by the Washburns in 1900.

But time ran out and on August 5, the Minister had his last audience with the Sultan. In the bordering period came many letters from missionary and diplomatic friends, which assuaged somewhat his disappointment at having to go home without taking with him what he had come to get. No one of these blamed him for this failure; the writers understood the situation he had faced. President Washburn, who had recently returned to the College from America, wrote while the Angells were en route home: "I was disgusted and indignant in America to find that your resignation had made the impression there that your mission here had been a failure and a mistake. Nothing could be farther from the truth and I did all in my power to correct this impression. People were so scattered, however, that I saw but few of those whom I should have been glad to see. It is true that you did not get the indemnity demanded. Under the circumstances, neither Gabriel nor Lucifer could have gotten it, but you represented the country as it has seldom been represented here before and made it respected by the Turks as well as at the Embassies. I think your Mission here was a great success, and every American here is grateful to you for having undertaken it. Our position is very different now from what it was when you came."<sup>9</sup>

The party sailed from Constantinople August 13, and after stops at Athens, Trieste, and Venice, and a few days in Switzerland arrived in Paris on the thirtieth. Four days afterward Mrs. Angell's diary of September 3 records: "Before I was up the postman pushed a letter under the door which was a sad, sad letter to us. Our dear friend Rowlie [Rowland Hazard] the truest and noblest soul left this world on his birthday Aug. 16." On July 11 she had written of another bereavement: "Our dear Mr. Walter [Professor Edward L. Walter, of Michigan] was on the

<sup>9</sup> Years later, on February 17, 1915, Angell wrote Mrs. McLaughlin: "On Monday my good friend Dr. Washburn of Constantinople died in Boston of pneumonia. He wrote me a dear letter on my birthday. He had been hit by an automobile & I was made anxious by the disability it caused. To none of the friends of my later days was I more attached. He was the best informed man living on the affairs of the East. He wrote that he much wanted to have a long talk with me on them. His wife, a rare woman, survives him. They did more to make the life of your mother & me interesting & attractive than any other persons in the East . . ." [and then he made a sudden leap to his beloved habit of taking walks]. "I am happy to say this mild weather has cleared the sidewalks so that today I walked down town."



'Bourgogne.' It is a fearful shock! How much we shall miss him—no one outside our own family so much." Another death which had saddened their year was that of Justin Winsor.

After the return home there came to the University Library as the gift of the Turkish government a shipment of 168 books used for instruction in Turkish primary schools.

Over thirty years later two daughters of Professor Burke A. Hinsdale, the Misses Ellen and Mildred, while in California met an old former representative in Turkey of the American Board of Foreign Missions, Mr. W. W. Peet. Mr. Peet told the Ann Arbor ladies that some years after Angell had left Constantinople he had gone to the American embassy to keep an appointment. He had paused before a wall portrait of Minister Angell, when a Turkish attendant remarked: "That is a fine portrait of Dr. Angell. I was his personal attendant when he was in residence here. The fact that that man is in your Heaven almost persuades me to become a Christian."

# *The First Resignation*

## CHAPTER XXX

*I*n the initial chapter of this book <sup>1</sup> there was mentioned the feeling in some quarters of the campus and elsewhere that the University would have been better served at the turn of the century had a younger man been president. This matter was again adverted to in Chapter XXVII,<sup>2</sup> especially in the letter of Professor James A. Craig addressed to the new appointee to the chair of philosophy, Professor Robert M. Wenley. Many other evidences of the opinion survive in letters and diaries of the time.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, letters addressed to him while he was in Turkey often expressed the writer's fear that he might not return to the University.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 3.

<sup>2</sup> P. 244.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the problems of Angell's last decade as President found expression in the *Michigan Alumnus* of May, 1905, when Wilfred B. Shaw, early in his long career as Editor, comments: "Many of the problems just now confronting the student body and the Faculty, as well, may be traced to the rapid growth of the University in the last few years. Since 1890 the enrollment of the University has doubled, and this increase brings with it certain sociological problems which call more insistently every year for solution. When we face the question frankly we must recognize that the student body has assumed unwieldy proportions and too many are graduated from this institution in utter ignorance of the fact that they have failed to lay the broad foundation which is the offering of a true university. No person, but the system rather, should take the blame. Michigan has been victimized by circumstances. The administrative machinery which turns out 'graduates' has a tendency to do little more, and many of the delightful relations between student and teacher which we hear about as a part of the past have been lost. The University is daily becoming more incapable of that finer buffing and polishing which is really such an essential part of the educational 'grind,' and there is a growing feeling of ill-will on the part of the undergraduate, toward the Faculty as a body, which is almost akin to hostility. These are hard words I know, and I would hardly dare give them expression if it were not possible to recognize at the same time, influences at work which will counteract these conditions and offer a positive solution for the problems which remain to be solved."

<sup>4</sup> Regent Henry S. Dean wrote to him, March 22, 1898: "Speaking of 'rumors' you



Those holding views adverse to the old President felt that they were supported not merely by the proverbial conservatism of age but by the relative prominence being so rapidly attained by some of the recently founded state universities. It could hardly be otherwise than that these new universities should make rapid advance if they were to live at all. Fortunately, they did make such progress as in great degree to close the gap existing at their beginning between them and Michigan.

An analogy in another field may be noted: the western states, when they first took form, were far behind the commonwealths of the eastern seaboard in their development. The equality which long since has resulted in a national community of states is not thought of as a disparagement of the older members because they are no longer in undisputed pre-eminence. In the last fifty years the new universities have not maintained the comparatively superior rate of advance which gave them their *relative* gains in prestige. They could not. They have *arrived*—have caught up. The “race” has become a friendly effort to maintain honorable position within a group. Every growth must have its seasons of rest; otherwise it exhausts itself. The institutions whose rapid progress marked the last decade or two of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth century, fortunately for their own health and that of higher education in general have since come at times to their own semicolons, not to say periods.

A writer holding the opinion that in the later Angell years and in those of Hutchins “the national reputation of the University of Wisconsin went up like a rocket, while Michigan’s, comparatively speaking, stood still,” disapproves, obviously, of Angell’s latter-day presidency. He writes, in the same vein, that it was expressive of President Hutchins’ unfortunate attitude that he should frequently have addressed the public and the alumni on the subject “Respect for Law.” In view of what we daily read of unrighteousness on the American scene, the ideas of Hutchins might, after all, embody something of value for the problems of today, as well as for those of 1900.

The same writer concludes: “One must ask whether in the early

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say ‘I cannot imagine what has given rise to them, as I had not said a word to anyone in that sense,’—that you did not intend to return. I believed that to be the fact, hence I concluded that someone for the purpose of accomplishing what he desired drew upon his imagination for the purpose of starting rumors . . . Certainly the members of the Board *all* knew that you intended to return next Autumn, and there is not a true friend of the University that would not be grieved if they thought you were contemplating not doing so. No matter why, or from what source the rumors started, we may all feel assured that they have been effectually squelched.”

twentieth century, in the years under Angell and the years under Hutchins, Michigan did not show unfortunate tendencies toward parochialism, complacency, self-admiration, inbreeding, and alumni worship?"<sup>5</sup>

To these questions propounded by this critic, the answer is "No."

During the first decade of the twentieth century Michigan considerably extended the elective system and steadily increased the number of its graduate students. In Angell's final year these numbered 259, an increase of 240 per cent since 1897-1898 when the number had been 76. It sought graduate fellowships and in some measure secured them. It raised entrance requirements in several fields, notably in medicine and dentistry. Its hospitals grew in service to patients and in benefits to medical students. It enlarged its clinics in dentistry for purposes similar to those of the hospitals. It established new courses in actuarial mathematics, in forestry, in landscape design, in business administration, and in marine engineering and naval architecture. In providing for research in the last-named field it constructed an immense naval testing tank. The Department of Architecture was founded and the Pasteur Institute was established for the treatment of persons exposed to rabies. Important new equipment was procured for extending astronomical studies. Facilities including a commodious building became available for investigation and relief of incipient cases of nervous disorders. Regent Hill gave the Saginaw Forest for experimental work in the subject of forestry. A botanical garden and arboretum of ample acreage came as a gift for new work in the indicated fields, and another, much more extensive tract of land in Cheboygan County, was acquired as a summer camp for engineering students. This tract has since become the Biological Station.

In filling vacancies men were sought, as Angell had once urged the Johns Hopkins trustees to seek them,<sup>6</sup> wherever men could be found with established reputations in research as evidenced by publications, or in the case of younger men, with serious promise thereof. An outstanding example was the case of Dr. Willoughby D. Miller, who was called from his professorship at the University of Berlin. Unhappily, Dr. Miller died following an appendectomy after coming to America, before he could take up his duties as Dean of the Dental College.

The new appointments made and recorded in the Regents' *Proceed-*

<sup>5</sup> Walton Bean, Review of "Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan," *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, June, 1952, pp. 147-48.

<sup>6</sup> Pp. 163-64.



ings fully answer the charge of "inbreeding." A list, by no means complete, of those President Angell brought in from other institutions or locations, during approximately his last decade includes these men of good repute and distinguished achievement: Walter Mulford, Filibert Roth, John A. Fairlie, Campbell Bonner, Herbert S. Jennings, Arthur G. Canfield, Frederick L. Paxson, Hugo P. Thieme, Ermine C. Case, Morris P. Tilley, Arthur Fairbanks, Otto C. Glaser, Raymond Pearl, Edward D. Jones, William H. Payne, Edward H. Kraus, William H. Hobbs, Reuben Peterson, Walter R. Parker, R. Bishop Canfield, Arthur L. Cross, Charles J. Tilden, Emil Lorch, Herbert C. Sadler, Albert M. Barrett, A. Walter Hewlett, George L. Streeter, William J. Hussey. More could be added. These were worthy successors to the men whose abilities had brought distinction to Michigan, and it is not surprising that, added to the younger men already on the campus, they should in the immediate future have given the University a fresh new impulse of life. And President Angell had gathered them all.

In 1908 the University asked for and was granted admission to the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching—one of the first four state universities to participate. All were accepted at the same meeting, June 4, 1909, and besides Michigan, included Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Toronto.<sup>7</sup>

The Department of Law began the publication of the *Michigan Law Review*, today in its fifty-first consecutive year. A beginning was made that in time was to lead to the establishment of the University of Michigan Press, by the editing and publishing of some of the newly discovered, earliest Biblical manuscripts. Previously Angell had written in his report for the year 1902–1903: "It [is] much to be desired that we had the means for publishing in the name of the University the results of many of the scientific, literary, economic and historical researches made by members of our Faculties. They form valuable and distinct contributions to knowledge. They now appear, if at all, in various magazines, journals and proceedings of learned societies, not infrequently in journals published by other universities, which thus rather than we gain the reputation accruing from such publications."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> President Pritchett was one of those critical of Michigan's progress. He believed that the University had been lax in enforcing its rules governing admission. Those who knew intimately the late John O. Reed, who became Dean of the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts, in 1907, will have no doubt that a correction of conditions President Pritchett criticized was already under way, where needed.

<sup>8</sup> The witty President George E. Vincent of the University of Minnesota once remarked: "Whenever the University of Michigan or the University of Minnesota

The President himself in 1906 called the meeting of the "Western Conference," for the development of a better spirit in intercollegiate athletics.

In 1901 the General Superintendent of Public Instruction in the recently formed government of the Philippines wrote Angell that his assistance in selecting and sending to the Islands nineteen teachers for whom he could vouch had been invaluable to the success of this unique experiment in mass education.

Students from other states, some of which had established and developed excellent universities of their own, continued to come to Michigan no less than formerly. The University's enrollment in the last year of President Angell's administration, 5,223, was the largest in its history up to that time. In 1900-1901 the percentage of students from outside the state had been 42.3; in 1908-1909, with a larger total, the percentage was still greater, 47. The enrollment of Wisconsin students at Michigan was larger than ever before and had increased 40 per cent during the period. (The growth of most of the western state universities was much stimulated by their departments of agriculture.)

At the close of Angell's administration the alumni were building Alumni Memorial Hall and the students had founded the Michigan Union. For "self-admiration" and "alumni worship," if they existed, there may have been a basic reason.

To understand better the reason why Angell admittedly saw no necessity for resigning, one must observe some of the differences between the first and sixth decades of the century. Many years were to elapse before the theory of retirement would even approach its present vogue—with some signs today that here and there it is being overdone. The University of Michigan with retirement age at seventy and a furlough year beginning at sixty-nine at full salary, has not gone as far as institutions and other corporations with retirement fixed at sixty-five. There seem to be two genuine and fundamental reasons for retirement systems. First comes relief of the employer, and ultimately of the public, from paying numbers of men and women for doing ostensibly, what they are no longer capable of doing actually. Yet the fixed age limit not infrequently deprives society of uniquely valuable services. True, such a fixed limit seems a necessity, for otherwise the number who feel hurt and resentful at their enforced departure from the field would be greatly

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makes a contribution to the advancement of education, it is usually accredited to the University of Wisconsin." Smith, *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*, p. 307.



increased. Without it only recognized omniscience could decide satisfactorily who should go and who should stay. The other basic reason for retirement lies in the fact that even if youth is not always to be served, it must have reasonable expectation of recognition on reaching its prime. Old men must make room or there can be no advancement for other men who have genuinely earned it. There is, of course, the appealing argument that the oldsters "have earned a rest." When everybody who really needs a rest has prepared for his leisure as he once prepared and trained for his active life—when he has been taught or has learned *how* to rest—this argument will have wider application.<sup>9</sup>

But the twentieth century opened on a scene different from that of today. Old men did not retire just because they were old. President Eliot continued at Harvard until he was seventy-five. Senator Henry Gassaway Davis was the Democratic candidate for the vice-presidency in 1904 after he had reached the age of eighty-one, and it may be noted that he lived twelve years after that. American men in general felt it to be an honorable and happy duty to work until night should finally fall. Andrew

<sup>9</sup> A recent issue of the sprightly *New Yorker*, under the heading "Song for Cracked Voices," by Morris Bishop, presented a pair of stanzas that are too often pertinent to the problem:

"There once was a man  
With a burning desire:  
'As soon as I can,  
I want to retire.  
Retirement is what  
I want to get on to,  
And work I will not,  
But do what I want to.'

"With energy vast  
He labored undaunted  
In order, at last,  
To do what he wanted.  
But when after all  
His struggles were through  
He couldn't recall  
What he wanted to do."

(Copr. 1952 New Yorker Magazine, Inc.)

Lest I be thought prejudiced I may be justified in interpolating (even though the dictionary defines "interpolation" as the corruption of a text by the introduction of foreign matter) that I have never been happier in my entire life than during my more than eight years of retirement. Along with some other activities I have written two books, collaborated in the script of a successful movie, and have served four years in the city council. I have been *busy* and have enjoyed it. Moreover, after thirty-seven years I was admittedly tired of my job, and when I look at the new problems the University Business Office has had to wrestle with, I have thanked God that it has some new wrestlers. To me retirement has been an unqualified blessing. But I have seen too many men for whom it has been otherwise.

Carnegie's new idea was creating little interest outside college circles. At the Johns Hopkins celebration of 1902, when Daniel Coit Gilman resigned at seventy-one and was succeeded by Ira Remsen, President Angell in his address said, in part, after reference to his share in President Gilman's selection when the University was founded:

"That is one of the few acts of my life which I have never regretted. And I was never more proud of it than yesterday and to-day; and, when President Gilman took it upon himself to resign, I felt that it was not obtrusive in me to write a letter to him, and respectfully protest against his resignation. He professed to me that he was getting old. I told him that I had never heard any such remark as that; and, moreover, that I thought that was not the proper age at which to begin to think one's self old. The truth is, that we have been confessing, I think, our inferiority to our English cousins too long on that subject. We talk about Mr. Gladstone; we talk about Lord Salisbury, we talk about the ability of Englishmen to continue at their posts until they are well within the septuagenarian period, and yet my friend here was going to retreat on the ground that he had reached the age of seventy; and, when we look about this country, we see men like Thomas W. Higginson, writing as beautiful essays as he ever wrote in the world, at the ripe age of seventy-five, or more; we see George F. Hoar<sup>10</sup> standing in the United States Senate with undiminished vigor; we see men like George F. Edmunds yet standing at the head of the United States Bar; we see men like the gentleman at my right here [Professor Gildersleeve], as vigorous as he ever was; we see a man like my friend who has just left the hall, who has been thirty-four years, or more, in the chair of the President of Harvard University, and if any one should talk about his beginning to break in strength, why, we would remind him that he might as well talk about Bunker Hill Monument beginning to tremble at its base."

Angell must have felt that his views on this score were powerfully reinforced three years later. In January, 1905, a few days after reaching seventy-six, he presented the following letter to the Regents:

"*Gentlemen*—I beg to tender you my resignation of the Presidency of the University, to take effect October 1st next. Although I have been graciously favored in the preservation of my health and strength, I am impressed with the belief that it will be advantageous to the University if you call a younger man to take my place.

"I desire to express my sincere thanks to you and to your predecessors

<sup>10</sup> Hoar had been a humorous but vigorous opponent of the Fishery Treaty in the Senate. See Note 16, p. 203.



on the Board for the kind consideration with which I have been treated by you and by them during my long term of services.

"Should you so desire, I should be willing to continue to give instruction in International Law.

Yours very respectfully,  
James B. Angell."

After he had read this letter and called Regent Knappen to the chair, he withdrew from the meeting. In his absence the Regents prepared and adopted the resolution that appears below, and unprecedentedly signed it individually—every member being present:

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Regents respectfully decline to consider Dr. Angell's resignation of the Presidency of this University. The members of the Board are unanimous in the conviction that no other person, young or old, can take President Angell's place either in value of service to the University and to the state, or in the love of the people.

"If at any time in the judgment of President Angell, he should need assistance in his work, the Board of Regents will most cheerfully furnish such assistance in such form as he may wish.

Arthur Hill	Henry W. Carey
Charles D. Lawton	Loyal E. Knappen
Henry S. Dean	Peter White
Levi L. Barbour	James H. Wade, Sec."
Frank W. Fletcher	

The resolution was formally presented to the President when the session was resumed in the afternoon. There was not anything he could do about the situation but accept it and go on about his business.<sup>11</sup>

The resignation and the Regents' refusal to receive it were followed by a flood of expressions of relief in the press and in letters from alumni and other friends, along with a few which faced up to the situation. One of

<sup>11</sup> President Gilman, on whose resignation Angell had written a protesting letter (see above), returned the amenity with interest when having heard of Angell's intent he wrote him on January 25: "I thought you were safely past 'the danger point,' & would retain a life-hold of the office that you have administered with consummate ability but it seems that you too have called for relief. If I could have a voice in the Ann Arbor counsels, I would advise your colleagues to decline your request, & to devise such forms of release from burdens as may be most acceptable to you,—Deans, Secretaries, Stenographers, whatever you choose. . . . You ought to be a President for life!" Wholly aside from the letter's interest as an example of friendship between two distinguished old men, there is something worthy of substantial consideration in Gilman's concluding words: "I have many regrets that I gave up, for I am just as well fitted for my duties as I have ever been, & it is not pleasant to be a 'back number,' only consulted as an 'index'!"

these was from Professor Robert M. Wenley to whom Professor Craig's cry for help had been addressed. But on the basis of knowledge of the situation acquired after he reached Ann Arbor, Wenley wrote thus to his chief:

"My dear Dr. Angell,

"The crash of your bolt from the blue has just reached my ears. Permit me to say, in a little private line, how relieved I am to be assured that things stand as they do. You may like to know, from a man who is a clearing-house for many things floating on the air here, that there are numerous & most relevant reasons why the Board acted as it had the good sense to do. In a word, we are still crossing the stream, & are in no condition to swap horses.

"Besides, you may take pleasure in learning that there is a group of strong men here upon whom you may rely. Some of them, like myself, may be no diplomatists. But some of them can do things, if required, & one or two of them can hit [the] mark, if need be. Ask us, when you deem it advisable or judicious, & see!

"Now, perhaps more than ever before, if my continued observations be not very far out, you can cherish the uplifting thought—*magna m[u]ni[t] moenia*.<sup>12</sup>

Yours, with sincere regard,  
R. M. Wenley"<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> In the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus (Act 2, Scene 2, line 75) the soldier says reassuringly, "*Magna munit moenia*," i.e., roughly, "You are protected by a strong wall."

<sup>13</sup> Four years after Robert M. Wenley wrote this note, another faculty member of observant and penetrating mind, Professor Charles Horton Cooley, wrote in the May, 1909, issue of the *Survey* an unequalled character sketch of President Angell. Extracts from it are:

"He has, in the first place, a notable faith in human nature, in the better instincts of the young and the good sense of the plain people, which made him patient and optimistic in the midst of manifold trials from the vagaries of the populace both inside and outside of his institution. 'Never lose faith in the boys and girls,' I have heard him say to an assembly of teachers, and no sentiment is more spontaneous than this in his own mind. Indeed a kindly, almost childlike, interest in people, simply as people, was and is one of the most endearing traits about President Angell. So long as it was humanly possible to do so he knew every student by name, often keeping track of them in their later careers, and his inquiries about them and about their sisters and cousins had no touch of professionalism but were the natural expression of a peculiarly sociable spirit. And as a teacher he is of that school, old but never antiquated, which holds that vital power is first of all personal, and is transmitted only by sympathetic contact of man with man. In this the pupil may give as well as receive, and he thinks it the high privilege of a teacher that he may keep the youth of his spirit by sympathy with the young.

"He has also faith in truth and honest dealing which he has expressed by life-long



Another note affectionately comprehending the several facets of the problem was sent by the President's son, James R., who wrote from his professorship at the University of Chicago: "The morning papers report the execution of your plan of resignation with the subsequent action of

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loyalty to them. Shallow writers and talkers, astonished at his influence over all sorts of men, including legislators, have sometimes described President Angell as a man of profound and almost Italian subtlety and management. In fact there is nothing of the sort in him; if there were his influence would be far less than it is. His nature is essentially simple and downright, disliking indirect methods and always trusting rather to principles than to manipulation. The sole foundation for the notion in question is a manner which can be blandly impenetrable when he chooses, and his frequent practice—much like that of Lincoln—of avoiding what he regards as premature or unnecessary issues. No one understands better the value, at times, of masterly inactivity, or has more patience to practice it. Some people decry a man who will not declare himself on one side or the other of any and every question which they themselves are agitated about; but the more judicious know that this capacity of reserve is a trait of strong character, and one most useful to the president of a university supported by public opinion. In no other sense is Mr. Angell the accomplished politician he is sometimes represented to be. He is not a schemer and never, one may be sure, made any close study of the party politics of the state, but trusted to patience, courtesy and the righteousness of his cause.

"Indeed, along with an urbanity which is never insincere or profuse, there is a kind of Puritan rigor about him (brought, perhaps, from the New England town where his ancestors had lived since they came over with Roger Williams) which never compromised any essential principle, but brought all questions to a moral test. He is a man whom one always felt to have standards which he was prepared to maintain, if necessary, against the world. While he has the greatest respect for custom and opinion and likes to conform when he can, there are certain things that latterly have become not uncommon among men of his calling which he will not do, especially things that might be described in general as pretence. In writing or speaking one who has known him throughout his term of service never heard him tell anything but the exact truth (*if he told anything*) [*italics supplied*], without exaggeration or dissimulation. He never made any claim for the university, before the public or the Legislature, which the soberest study of the facts would not have verified word for word. To speak as a partisan, claiming as much as you think you can get believed, was impossible to his conscience.

"He has, moreover, a very practical faith in God, a present and living conviction that He works in the world and that man exists for His service. This belief, which in him includes an intimate consciousness of the personal leader and model of Christians, he carried about with him as an unfailing support in a career in which, from first to last, annoyances, great and small, were an unfailing element. Few remember in these later days that at one time (and that a long time) a large and bitter faction in the state, including a great part of the active politicians, were hostile to him and assailed him with obloquy: but so it was; and the dignity and equanimity with which he remained faithful to his trust rested upon a feeling that God had put it in his hands and it was not for him to lay it down. We too easily forget in the applause that follows great achievement, that it is seldom attained save by those who know how to endure vituperation.

"The adaptability I have mentioned was shown in the address—based upon sympathy—with which he conformed himself to the conditions of his work. Coming out of the East, a man of the utmost refinement after the best New England tradition,

the Board refusing to accept your overtures. I am very glad that the episode has passed off so creditably to all concerned. I think it would be a great pity for you to drop all your executive work as long as you feel up to it. I also feel strongly that the university could not lay hands upon anyone who would take your place in the respect and confidence of the public mind. At the same time no man can pass his 76th birthday in these days without its occurring to some one that his usefulness may be at an end. This is distinctly not the era of the elders. But your straight out action must close the mouths of any purely captious critics and the resolutions of the Board put you in a position of perfect dignity."

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a chip of the same block as Emerson, Lowell and Longfellow (indeed some of that group were his personal friends) he had to deal with students drawn mostly from the frontier, and with legislators and trustees who were rarely scholars and not always gentlemen. These he met and conquered not by cultivating the lower arts of the politician, or in any way derogating from his own dignity and culture, but by simple honesty of word and purpose. If a westerner was at first a little suspicious of that finer breeding which could not be concealed, he soon respected it as he came to feel that there was an honest man behind it.

"He is one who up to this his eighty-first year has never fallen into deep ruts of any sort, never ceased to grow with the growth of life, never taken on that shell of habit which renders many men of advancing years incapable of appreciating anything but the past. 'A man who has ceased to learn,' he would say, 'is unfit to teach'; and his own fitness was never threatened in this way."



# Presidential Routine

## CHAPTER XXXI

*The preceding chapter* has related numerous events following Angell's resumption of the presidency. But there were other developments in those years that should also be recorded. It must be admitted that the President found the business coming across his desk considerably lessened by the systematizing habits of Acting President Hutchins during the year. Campus gossip had it that Angell remarked, in puzzled fashion, that he found it hard to understand why his mail, both general and intracampus, was so much less than it had been before he went away. The answer, had one been vouchsafed, would have been that an organizer had been at work. The inception of the Teachers Appointment Committee was only one of the devices that channeled responsibilities from the President's office by relieving him of the correspondence between secondary schools and the University on the one hand and between would-be teachers and the University on the other hand, and obviously all this work was more accurately and completely accomplished by the new committee.

The several departmental alumni societies had been consolidated into the Alumni Association of the University, which was already employing a full-time secretary. The privately owned *Michigan Alumnus* had been acquired, and the number of local alumni clubs increased.

Another event that would have distressed the President had he been in Ann Arbor was the departure of many students for the Spanish-American War. Dean Victor C. Vaughan of the Medical Department and Dr. Charles B. de Nancrede, Professor of Surgery, had gone with the students in the Army, and Professor Mortimer E. Cooley had served in the Navy. Dr. Vaughan came very close to death in an attack of yellow fever. Seven alumni had given their lives, and to this number two more would be added during the operations in the Philippine Islands. One of the first things the President did after coming home was to secure the release

from military service of students who were with the Thirty-first Michigan Regiment at Camp Poland in Tennessee, and who, the war being over, desired to return to their studies.

Building operations had been carried on to a considerable extent, the principal items being the complete reconstruction of the Law Building and a large addition to the bookstacks of the General Library. Incidentally, the new Law Building for many years thereafter provided much better quarters for the Regents' meetings than had formerly been afforded by the President's office.

In 1901 the University ended the practice of granting differing degrees to students qualifying for graduation from the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts. On recommendation of a committee of which the President was chairman, the degrees of Bachelor of Letters, Bachelor of Philosophy, and Bachelor of Science were abandoned and the one degree of Bachelor of Arts was extended to all. In the case of higher degrees a corresponding change to the single Master of Arts had already been put into effect; in later years the University resumed the Bachelor of Science and Master of Science designation for students whose studies had been primarily in the field of science and who desired a diploma that in itself should reflect this fact. Somewhat as at the University of Vermont, thirty years earlier, Angell had had to reconcile the classicists and the agriculturalists, so in this change at Michigan there had been hard-fighting opponents of the plan to place modern languages on a level with Greek and Latin. They had resisted mainly on the ground that the degree of Bachelor of Arts was by long usage understood to indicate attainments in the classics, and that it was presumptuous, if not unjust to the holders of that degree, for one institution to attempt to deprive it of its historical significance. It had to be admitted, however, that half a dozen other leading universities had already gone over to the one degree system, as it was called. Advocates of the change maintained that the ancient classics were no longer entitled to a more honorable recognition than the other branches of knowledge taught in colleges and universities and that it was not just nor expedient to foster the pursuit of the ancient classics by offering what might be regarded as a special premium for the study of them in the form of a distinctive diploma to be regarded as of higher value than the other diplomas. Those who opposed the change had been obliged to admit that the historic argument had lost much of its force through the action of other colleges and universities. So the change was made even though many older holders of the diploma of Bachelor of Arts regretted and criticized the innovation.



Along with the change of degrees the students of the department were afforded a growing liberty of election of studies. It was the belief of the President that a careful study of the elections made under the rules showed that with very few exceptions the choices of the students had been made wisely, and the committee reported that "it was very doubtful if any committee of the Faculty could on the whole have made better choice for the students, the great mass of whom were here with an earnest purpose and aim to secure the best results from their college course." While in later years there has been some stiffening of the regulations with respect to freedom of election, there has never been any formulated idea of going back to the earlier multiple degree plan or to the fixed programs of studies.

Distinguished visitors continued to make the University a port of call. In 1899 Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, addressed the student body. He was a guest of the President at luncheon and in the afternoon a public reception was given in Waterman Gymnasium. In the evening he developed his favorite theme of the responsibility of the individual in a government like that of the United States. On January 10, 1901, Winston Churchill spoke on his experiences in the South African war; despite a driving snowstorm he was greeted by a large audience who, while they could not foresee the outstanding career for which the then young man was destined, were nevertheless charmed by the speaker's penetrating mind and his humor. It was before the day of motion pictures, but Churchill showed a number of lantern-slide stills. When one of these was on the screen, he pointed to a woebegone, cadaverous young man, somewhat separated from the rest of a group of British prisoners of the Boers and remarked feelingly, "That's me." One recalled this solecism many years later when reading Churchill's rebuke of the proofreader who sought to make him abandon a split infinitive.

Another person, to be characterized, perhaps, as notorious rather than famous, was the then well-known Carrie Nation. Her announcement that she would speak at the northwest corner of the campus brought about a field day of student humor, having its climax when she called for bottles upon which to exercise her celebrated hatchet. The occasion came to an abrupt end when an innocent looking beer bottle was handed up which, when she had smashed it, turned out to have been filled with carbon bisulphide.

Two distinguished foreign groups came to Ann Arbor in search of suggestions to take back to their own countries. One was an imperial Chinese commission sent to this country to study American conditions

and institutions and to gather ideas for the formation of the new Chinese constitution. The commissioners spent March 7, 1906, on the campus as guests of the President during their progress across the country from the Pacific Coast with the ultimate purpose of visiting Europe.

Doubtless the most noteworthy body of foreigners to inspect the University during this period was the celebrated Mosely Commission from Great Britain which arrived in the late fall of 1903. Its report, published after its return to Great Britain, was quoted in part in the *Michigan Alumnus*<sup>1</sup>:

"In most of the medical schools visited well equipped clinical laboratories were a conspicuous feature, and this was more especially the case in the University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University, and in the University of Michigan . . . For some time past, following the lead of Michigan, certain universities and colleges have had a method of 'accrediting' schools. . . . The accrediting system seems to have originated at the State University of Michigan, and to be largely due to the wisdom and foresight of President Angell.<sup>2</sup> . . . It began in 1872 at the University of Michigan and was the result of the drawing together of the State University and the State high schools for the purpose of actual support. . . . Even more obtrusively American law schools are professional schools. . . . Everywhere admission in itself is cheap, and huge numbers qualify, e.g., the State University of Michigan has 900 law students. . . . The atmosphere of legal thought among the students is notable. Their moot courts and law clubs are conducted with perfect seriousness. . . . Practice courts at many schools receive much prominence. The system has been most fully developed at Michigan by Professor Hutchins and Professor Bogle, where, in one course, transactions previously arranged by the professor are conducted by students in such a manner as to leave doubtful both facts and law. There is advice on evidence, delivery of pleadings, and trial in due form.

"The most lengthy and direct reference occurs in the report of Principal Reichel, of the University of Wales: 'Michigan is the oldest and most famous of the State universities; its actual life dates from 1837, and geographically it forms the point of division between the Eastern private university and the Western State university. . . . The primacy which Ann Arbor enjoys among the State universities is due to the wise policy of its founders, who decided at the outset to establish preparatory schools under university control in different parts of the country rather than to

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 11 (1905), p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Angell always gave Frieze the credit for originating the plan.



concentrate the State grant upon central university buildings.<sup>3</sup> This gave the University enormous directive influence throughout the State, and led to the establishment of many high schools in emulation of these branch university schools. As the high schools developed, the University dropped its local branches and concentrated. This growth explains the position and peculiar influence which Ann Arbor occupies in relation to the high schools, and out of which has sprung its accrediting system, and also the fact that in post-graduate study it is admittedly superior to the other State universities.'—Not less interesting in its own way, is the work of the gymnasium, where physical training is carried on to ensure that the student shall, as far as possible, possess health and soundness of body as well as technical skill. In the Universities of Yale and Michigan such training is compulsory during the first year of attendance, but is usual throughout the whole curriculum. The attachment of old students to their university is peculiarly warm, and an invaluable source of strength. . . . Almost every university has its 'Association of Alumni' which keeps in close touch with its *Alma Mater*, having permanent quarters within her walls, often publishing a regular magazine (e.g., the *Michigan Alumnus*, published monthly), and in general promoting her interests and development in every direction. President Angell, of Michigan University, a former ambassador at Constantinople, whose name is a synonym for knowledge of the world and shrewd common-sense, maintains that education has had an enormous effect. The great growth of industrial prosperity, he pointed out, had been in the last thirty years, and the great growth of schools and universities has been in the same period. . . . The words of President Angell expressed in conversation to myself—'the passion for education is by far the dominant passion amongst Americans of the West and Middle West'—are confirmed by my own experience as being literally true."

The institution's income for 1902–1903 was estimated at \$704,900, and the budget adopted for current expenses was \$568,226.18. The happy working out of the increased mill tax with its provision for use of savings for the erection of buildings and other capital expenditures resulted in a number of new structures to relieve the pressure of the growing enrollment. A medical building came in 1901 and shortly thereafter the great Engineering Building.<sup>4</sup> In 1902 bequests enabled the Regents to let contracts for the Palmer Ward for child patients in the Hospital. In 1902 also Mr. Dexter M. Ferry, Sr., made the gift that resulted in Ferry

<sup>3</sup> Principal Reichel exaggerated the importance of the branches.

<sup>4</sup> P. 210.

Field.<sup>5</sup> In 1904 all divisions of the summer schools became integral parts of the University on equality with the first and second semesters. An appropriate exhibit was set up at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, and June 28 was formally set aside by the exposition authorities as University of Michigan Day. Several hundred former students were in attendance and President Angell made one of the addresses on the occasion.

In one respect Angell admittedly did not keep up with progress. In 1908 while on a visit to Rhode Island he wrote Mrs. McLaughlin: "Mary Hazard has the automobile fever so heavily that she has insisted once on taking me to Watch Hill & once to the Goddards' . . . & is constantly urging me to take 20 or 30 mile trips. . . . In truth I do not enjoy automobiling; one is in clouds of dust, cannot talk, cannot take in the scenery, one simply 'gets there' in no time."

In 1905 the financial affairs of the several student organizations such as the Lecture Association and the publication boards were made subject to audit by a representative of the University Senate, thus putting a period to accusations of graft. These in some cases had been well founded.

For a dozen years there had been growing up a feeling that intercollegiate athletics was taking to itself an altogether undue share of academic life. This feeling had been given an added impetus at Michigan by examples within the student management then obtaining that were clearly injurious to the University's good name, not only as to professionalism but in matters of common business honesty. There was also a dispute, drawn out for at least nine years, between Chicago on the one hand and Michigan and Wisconsin on the other, over responsibility for damage suits arising from the collapse of a temporary grandstand while Michigan and Wisconsin were playing, in 1896, on the field they had rented from Chicago. To eyes of today it would seem that Chicago was justified in its disclaimer of responsibility, but the other two universities took advantage of legal technicalities and interuniversity animosities were considerably aggravated by the developments. Wholly aside from this broil, President Harper of Chicago came forward with the proposal that athletics should be endowed and should be carried on for students only and without admission fees. This suggestion was regarded by the state universities as entirely impractical.

Mrs. Angell herself took cognizance of the overemphasis on athletics, even in fields other than football, when she wrote in her diary on April 26, 1903: "The Students were so excited at the victory of our boys

<sup>5</sup> P. 209.





Family group on the steps of the President's House

*Front Row:* Constance McLaughlin (Green); Robert Angell; Esther L. McLaughlin (Donahue); David B. McLaughlin; Rowland H. McLaughlin; James B. Angell II; James A. McLaughlin

*Middle Row:* James W. Angell; Marion Angell (McAlpin); James B. Angell; Isabel McLaughlin (Stevens); Lois A. McLaughlin

*Back Row:* Mrs. James R. Angell; James R. Angell; Andrew McLaughlin; Mrs. Alexis C. Angell; Alexis C. Angell; Sarah C. Angell (daughter of Alexis)



"Sam"



in racing over all the universities of the Country that they made tremendous Bonfires and soon after midnight appeared in a large multitude round our house shouting Prexy, Prexy, Prexy we want Prexy. The dear man was snugly between the sheets and said he could not dress and go out to them. So after howling round for nearly an hour at last they departed."

The Western Intercollegiate Conference<sup>6</sup> had been in existence for ten years, and it was natural that President Angell's call for a special meeting to deal with the overemphasis of football should be addressed to the conference. The institutional delegates met in Chicago in February, 1906. At this meeting Michigan was represented by that outstanding man, Albert H. Pattengill, whose sudden death was soon to follow. On the very evening of the day Professor Pattengill died, March 16, 1906, President Angell spoke before the Chicago alumni. In his remarks he reiterated in less formal language some of the things he had said in his letter to the Conference:

"The public had come to consider that the first twelve weeks of college were for football, with an occasional lapse into intellectual pursuits. Other objections to the game had come along with this. The pains which were taken to gather members of the team from all over the country, the training of the men as gladiators, and the making of the game a great spectacle for thousands of people have been frowned upon justly.

"The game came to have a different purpose than that of recreation and healthful strife. The boys in school were becoming infected with a wrong idea of what college life really stood for. The great sums of money involved in carrying on the game were a peril to the students, because there came the fight for the coaches.

"Every university wanted the best coach and fabulous sums of money were paid for the purpose of attaining this end. In certain universities the coaches are paid more than members of President Roosevelt's cabinet or the justices of the Supreme Court. Think of it!

"We must admit that some sort of change was necessary. That is why we called the conference—to make football a healthful sport for the students living in a normal state in university life."

<sup>6</sup> Its original membership embraced the University of Chicago, University of Illinois, University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, University of Wisconsin, Purdue University, and Northwestern University. After three years, in 1899, Indiana University and the State University of Iowa were admitted, and in 1912 Ohio State University. Since that date Chicago has withdrawn and Michigan State College has been admitted. The common designation of the Conference as the "Big Nine" or "Big Ten" of course stems from the number of institutions on its roster.

The Conference made fourteen recommendations for changes in rules for the game of football and in the administration of athletics in general. Some of these have now been in peaceful operation for nearly a half century, such as the one-year residence rule, the three-year participation rule, and the requirement that participants in intercollegiate athletics be, in all respects, in current good standing as students. Other recommendations ultimately perished, such as an admission price not in excess of fifty cents for students; the abolition of the training table by whatsoever name called; the provision that there should be no coaching except by regular members of the instructional staff appointed by university governing bodies on the recommendation of the faculty or president, at salaries no greater than those of other members of the faculty of the same rank; and that the earnings of athletics (supposing there were any) should be devoted to University improvements, as distinct from athletics purposes. The report and recommendations aroused a storm in several places, and in particular on the Michigan campus, with conflicting winds blowing from proponents of the new rules and from their opponents. There was reason to feel that certain of the proposed rules were aimed at Michigan. The death of Professor Pattengill, with his strong moderating influences, was a catastrophe to hopes for a peaceful and unanimous agreement.

It is not the purpose to recount here the war between Conference and anti-Conference sentiment. It extended for years into the administration of President Hutchins. James B. Angell had been in his grave more than a year when the dust of this battle was finally cleared away. The University Senate Council was given veto power over the Board in Control of Athletics—a power which, by the way, it has never once found it necessary to exercise in all the following years. President Hutchins issued a matter-of-fact statement that faculty control was thus provided, and this satisfied everybody at Michigan and elsewhere. It was as easy as that. Angell's last years as President of the University would have been much less wearing if only human nature could be as reasonable when a conflict begins as it comes to be when everybody is tired.



# Sorrow

## CHAPTER XXXII

*No deaths among* the men of his time ever affected Angell more deeply than those of Lewis Diman, Rowland Hazard, and Henry Simmons Frieze, already recorded. But his calm and cheerful spirit always expectant of good, was frequently saddened as the years passed by the deaths of other friends on whom he depended for advice and spiritual companionship. The years following his absence in Turkey could be no exception; naturally as their ages advanced the passing of friends became ever more frequent.<sup>1</sup>

Especially might be mentioned William H. Pettee, who died in May, 1904, after nineteen years in the professorship of mineralogy and economic geology, under various titles. The relationship with Pettee was very intimate, even extending to the "first-name" basis, rare in those days. In his annual report in September the President said of him: "No other person was so familiar as he with the details of our finances. The lucid and exact financial statement, which for the last two years has been appended to the President's report, was from his pen. His minute acquaintance with our statutes, usages and traditions, and his proverbial accuracy as compiler and proof-reader, made our publications models of their kind. His lovable spirit endeared him to all his colleagues."

Other deaths in the same year were of Charles E. Greene, first Dean of the College of Engineering, and for thirty-one years a member of that faculty, and of Jonathan Taft, from its organization in 1875 until a month before his death, Dean of the College of Dentistry. Earlier, in 1900, the passing of Burke A. Hinsdale robbed the University of his encyclopedic mind and authoritative influence. In February, 1905, the

<sup>1</sup> On one of the last meetings I had with him in his library after his retirement, he brushed aside the matter on which consultation had been sought. With a wave of his hand toward the framed portraits on the walls, he said, "You young fellows will have to settle such matters. My thoughts are with these friends of the past,—and of that future when I expect to be with them again."

campus lost the gentle Albert B. Prescott, since 1865 of the faculty of chemistry and Dean of the College of Pharmacy from 1878 till his death. Of this sweet spirit it could be said truly, "None knew him but to love him."

Angell had lost grandchildren by death before the ultimate blow fell within his immediate family circle. In the early morning of December 17, 1903, he suddenly found himself one of those loneliest of beings—an old man who had lost his wife. While the immediate cause of Mrs. Angell's death was pneumonia, her health had roused anxiety from early in March, 1900, when she suffered an apoplectic stroke on a train en route to New York. The President hastened East, and much sooner than was at first expected she recovered her speech and power of movement and returned to Ann Arbor, where to a large degree she was able to resume her usual activities. Her youngest son wrote her a deeply affectionate letter, almost fatherly in its closing cautions: "I hope you appreciate the necessity under the circumstances for a kind of quiet which you have never before indulged. You simply cannot pooh-pooh a thing of this kind and carry it off in your usual manner on your nerve. I hope you will really feel the force of this fact sufficiently to control your conduct thusly. It means early hours and abandonment of endless worries. It probably means the temporary abandonment anyhow of such matters as your missionary organizations. I wish I could be on hand to secure your obedience to the claims which I well know will, with your temperament, be hardest of all commands to obey." James R. was right in his anticipation of the reluctance with which his mother would give up the activities that had so filled her life. While she resigned one or two of the offices she held in organizations, she continued to carry her social obligations even to serving frequently as chaperon for student social events. She records with enthusiasm the features of the Junior Hop of 1902, from which she came home at 3:15 A.M. At seventy-one she could still enjoy a party. Probably long before the illness which struck her down nearly four years after the paralytic attack, many people in Ann Arbor outside her family and immediate friends had ceased to feel the anxiety that immediately followed the first break in her health.

Mrs. Angell was an inveterate keeper of diaries. In the Michigan Historical Collections there are eight of her bound diaries, and in addition she thriftily used the blank pages of a considerable number of blue books from her husband's courses in international law. There is something humorous in the sudden passing from the examination questions and answers in the grave problems of international statesmen to her



record of callers, meetings, and social engagements. She was no gossip in these pages. The nearest approach to criticism of others came after a long and tedious call from a faculty wife, in the entry, "God forgive me! but she does wear me out." The pages are brimming with the affection that characterized her whole life; no count has been made but it would not be surprising if the word most frequently written in the diary was "dear." Her husband is most commonly designated as "my dearest one" or "my own dear man." On their forty-seventh wedding anniversary she wrote:

"47 years of happy married life. Oh was there ever any one who had received such marked favors as I have! My dearest Husband, my lovely children in whom we take such pride & delight. My life should be one Te Deum! If I know myself I am truly grateful. Since early morn'g the bell has been ringing and the most lovely flowers are sent me. The house is a huge conservatory. I was occupied all the morning with little odds and ends of things. . . . We went to my dear Lois' party which she gave in honor of our anniversary. She had invited mostly those who were present shortly after we came to live in Ann Arbor and had arranged a charming series of toasts, and reminiscences. It was wonderfully well managed, at the same time it was both gay and *triste*.

"We left just before midnight feeling that if we never met again under such happy conditions the memory would be a joy forever."

She and her "dear man" had had different bringings up. His boyhood had been spent on a farm and in a tavern, among run-of-mine people. She had been born into the family of a well-to-do professor, later the president, of a leading university, and of a bank. Her mother died before she was twenty and for five years, until her father married a second time, she was the hostess of the professorial household. She brought to Ann Arbor, along with her affection, unselfishness, joy of life, and desire to do her full duty, all the polite conventions of New England. These doubtless helped to give her the reputation, in contrast to her husband's homely simplicity, of being "aristocratic." Such a view was heightened by the fact that she was regal and imposing in appearance, and inclined to impressiveness in dress. But in fact the sympathies of no one could have been wider or more generous than hers.

On the last Christmas day she was to know she recorded: "The blessed Day! The little folk were awake early examining their stockings. I came down to breakfast and we all had Prayers together a very solemn service and most touching to me. After breakfast we had the contents of the Xmas basket which proved a very hilarious time. Then the children scattered to their various rooms. I was busy in general arranging a very

informal lunch. We dined at 4, really 4.30. [The Detroit train was late.] Fourteen of us at table, and a happy time it was. In Evg we had many games and a Fish Pond which made no end of fun. Over 50 articles of one kind and another were distributed. Then the happy little people went to bed. The Ponds & Annie C[ondon] & Lilly C[ondon] came in and we played Twenty Questions had some wine jelly and at 11 o cl. our guests departed and we closed a happy Xmas."

She was a lineal descendant on her father's side from Peregrine White, the first child born in the Plymouth Colony, and through her mother she traced her descent from the Reverend Ebenezer Thompson, who was the first missionary sent to Massachusetts by the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and who settled in Scituate. Her maternal grandmother was the daughter of Colonel Michael Swoope, of York, Pennsylvania, commander of a regiment in the Revolutionary War. Her father was an ordained Baptist minister, and his house was a hospitable headquarters for foreign missionaries. In her childhood and young womanhood she had listened with rapt attention to the tales of these devoted men and women, of whom the most famous was Adoniram Judson, whom she often saw. With such a heritage her lifelong interest in missions and in the preservation of Revolutionary history was a natural consequence.

Especially in their interest in foreign missions husband and wife complemented each other. She was for twenty-six years the president of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Ann Arbor Congregational Church, and for seven years, of the Michigan Branch of the Women's Board of Missions of the Interior. At Peking and at Constantinople the missionaries were not merely tolerated, but welcomed in the legation. After her death and after the ruin wrought by the Boxers had been cleared away, the American Board erected in Peking a mission which included, within spacious grounds, the North China Union Women's College, one wing of which was named the Angell Memorial Bible Training School. It bore a bronze plaque reading:

This Tablet  
Placed by the Donors of  
THE SARAH CASWELL ANGELL  
MEMORIAL BIBLE SCHOOL  
For Women in Peking China  
In Recognition of Her Services for Many Years  
As President of the Michigan Branch  
Women's Board of Missions  
Of the Interior



Mrs. Angell was one of the organizers of the Ann Arbor Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, renamed after her death the Sarah Caswell Angell Chapter. In her memory there were placed in Continental Memorial Hall, in Washington, a pair of mahogany doors.

But outside of her home it was the campus that chiefly absorbed her attention. In conformity with the conventions of those days she religiously—and with genuine enjoyment—called on the wives of all new faculty members. It was the students, especially the women students, who chiefly absorbed her interests and sympathies. In the early days of co-education, prejudices against the women were shared even by the landladies on whom they had to depend for places to live. They had no social life. They often needed draughts of the milk of human kindness. In the wife of the President they found the encouragement of benevolence and good will. She was a moving spirit in the organization of the Women's League. When Mr. Barbour's gift for a woman's building needed large supplementing, the women gave multitudes of parties and plays, and solicited funds. Mrs. Angell was head and front in this latter work. In her diary of May 27, 1896, she wrote: "Went in to Detroit with a party of ladies to beg for women's gymnasium. Had a hard day but was quite rewarded by the gift of a hundred dollars." On another day, with a girl student,<sup>2</sup> the results were much better when the generous Dexter M. Ferry, Sr., wrote out for them an astonishing check for a thousand dollars. It was not merely because she was the President's wife that when Barbour Gymnasium was completed, its little auditorium was named by the Regents the "Sarah Caswell Angell Hall." She had earned the honor it brought.

While she never withdrew her membership from her parents' Baptist Church in Providence, during her whole life in Ann Arbor she was in all but name a member of the Congregational Church of her husband, and for almost the whole period she taught a Sunday school class of young women. So thoroughly was she identified with this congregation that probably none but her family and the pastor knew that she was not officially a member. The great stained glass window in the eastern gable of the church edifice, looking across the campus, commemorates her no less than her husband.

In the Michigan Historical Collections two large files are closely packed with messages received by the President on her passing. These came from alumni all over the world and from unforgetting friends in China, Turkey, Europe, Providence, Burlington, and every quarter of America.

<sup>2</sup> Sara Spencer Browne, '97.

To all appearances the President went on his calm way as tranquilly as before. "Kate" continued to keep his house, growing somewhat more arbitrary and severe as time went on. "Sam" Baylis, who had been the major domo of the President's house almost coincident with Kate's service, did not lessen his kindly and wide-ranging ministrations. How much of Angell's happiness throughout his remaining years was owed to this sunny, unobtrusive, faithful Negro will never be calculated.<sup>3</sup> In summer, the President kept on with his vacations on the shores of his beloved Rhode Island.

But the product of the years of comparative solitude sometimes found brief expression as when in October, 1908, he wrote to Mrs. McLaughlin, sending his letter by some of her family returning home from an Ann Arbor sojourn: "This comes with the contingent of your household that I am sorry to lose. They make this empty house full of the life of olden times. . . .

"The weather is perfect here today. I have given this p.m. my annual

<sup>3</sup> When Sam Baylis followed his employer in death on September 3, 1918, the *Ann Arbor Daily Times News* commented on the event thus—a comment approved by city and campus, besides thousands of alumni:

#### ANGELL'S SERVANT AND FRIEND PASSES AWAY

"Sam Baylis is dead!

"For over 30 years Sam Baylis was a familiar figure on the campus, and thousands of students met him with a smile and a pleasant word of a morning during those years, and counted him a friend. To them all he was affectionately known as 'Prexy's Sam,' because he was Dr. Angell's faithful servant for a third of a century.

"In the old days, when Dr. Angell drove about the town in a handsome carriage behind a span of bays, it was Sam Baylis who sat on the driver's seat, resplendent in his coachman's livery. It was Sam Baylis also who served as butler in the Angell home, and in that capacity he served a great many of the world's dignitaries who were guests under the roof of the president's mansion on the campus.

"And those were the days of royal entertainment. There have been none like them since in this old town. Those were the days of the open house, the welcome that only thoroughbreds can give, and many were the tales Sam Baylis could tell, and some that he delighted to tell to his dying days, of the dignitaries who came to the president's house. The Chinese minister, Wu Ting Fang, with his gorgeous robes and peculiar customs, always provided a favorite subject for Sam to talk about.

"There were also American dignitaries, President Cleveland and President Wilson, when they were each plain 'mister,' and President Roosevelt when he was fresh from the Spanish-American war and his title was colonel.

"Some of the foreign dignitaries came on diplomatic missions from their own lands to consult with one of America's greatest diplomats. 'Prexy' Angell, and Sam knew them all and their peculiarities, and served them well, and they grew to look for Sam as long as the old home on the campus was the president's house.

"Sam Baylis was with Dr. Angell when he died. During the long weeks when the grand old man's health and strength ebbed away, it was Sam upon whom he depended more and more, and Sam never failed his master. When Dr. Angell's step grew so feeble that he could no longer take his walk about the campus without



Address to the new students in the name of the S.C.A.<sup>4</sup> Rather to my surprise on this fine day the Hall was well filled. These duties are rather more burdensome to me than formerly, as indeed my whole business is. I think I must try to get out of it."

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support, it was Sam Baylis upon whom he leaned, and as the days went on it was Sam's arm that supported him. When the time came when Dr. Angell could no longer leave his home, it was Sam who hovered ever near, ready at a whisper to serve the man whom he had served so well for a third of a century. Sam was one of the very few outside his immediate family remembered in Dr. Angell's will. [Kate Martin was likewise a beneficiary, equally with Sam Baylis.] Since Dr. Angell's death and the closing of the old Angell home, Sam had been seldom seen on the campus. He was stricken with the illness that finally caused his death just a few weeks before Dr. Angell's death.

"Sam Baylis was a faithful servant, trustworthy, kindly and good, and there are many not of his own race who will remember him with kindness for many years. His honest, smiling face long will be missed on the campus, even as it has been missed these past two years."

So prominently was Sam identified with the President's house that during his time an illustrative story went round Ann Arbor. A stranger arriving at the railway station told the first hackman he saw to take him to Dr. Angell's house. This driver, being new to the city, asked a fellow Jehu, "Where this Dr. Angell might live," and the reply was "Dr. Angell? Oh, he lives up with Sam Baylis"—a location which the newcomer had already learned.

<sup>4</sup> Students' Christian Association.

# *The Second and Final Resignation*

## CHAPTER XXXIII

*T*he four years between 1905 and 1909 were, except in their final scene, not very eventful on the Michigan campus. A few developments, however, may be mentioned.

The "Conference question" continued a disturbing element. In February, 1907, it reached a point where Michigan's withdrawal from the Conference was avoided only by a tie vote, four to four, within the Board of Regents. During the following year Conference legislation seemed to the Michigan Board in Control of Athletics to justify withdrawal from the organization, and in July, 1908, the Regents approved this action. But there were many among the faculty and the alumni who did not approve, and the tired old President was forced to listen to much discussion by the belligerents—or at least to hear it if he did not really listen.<sup>1</sup>

In May, 1907, the Board appointed the first of several committees directed to work out an orderly campus building plan. The very fact that the Regents felt it necessary to raise other committees at later dates with this same objective is sufficient comment on the difficulties of the problems involved and the inability of the study groups to solve them. Too often, when a new building was to be erected, the most pressing question was the discovery of vacant ground adequate for the site, without much regard to its relationship to buildings already standing. There was money for few things beyond the necessities of life. In later

<sup>1</sup> "The best short history of [the Conference question] was written by Wilfred B. Shaw in the *Alumnus Quarterly Review*, autumn issue of 1947. Through the entire eleven years Shaw was Alumni Secretary and Editor of the *Alumnus*, and he survived, in spite of the fact that he was then, and in memories of those days still is, strongly pro-Conference." Smith, *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*, p. 151.



years the laying out of the mall between the Rackham Building and the General Library to the north and south respectively, with Hill Auditorium and the Women's League on the flanks, was a substantial product, long delayed, of these plans for the development of the old campus. The crowded, more or less hit-or-miss locations of the University's buildings for long had as its chief justification the five-minute interval that sufficed for student movement between classes. No one has ever found an excuse for the variations in the styles of architecture that make up the old campus conglomerate.

A chief sinner in architectural departure from anything then in existence was the new Chemistry Building, for which a contract was let in this period. Its great tawny mass of yellowish-brown brick bears no relationship to any building within sight from it. Another structure, which was completed while the President was still in office, was that to house the classes in dentistry, while the new Alumni Memorial Hall was taking form on the southwest corner of the campus. This building, beautiful and dignified in itself, was another example in its white stone exterior of something unlike anything else on the "Forty Acres." To add to the discord the old Museum Building standing in juxtaposition to Alumni Memorial Hall for some years flaunted a coat of fiery red paint.

In the year 1907-1908 the University Senate and the Regents united in approval of an expanded plan of alumni organization. The principal features of this plan involved setting up one or more local organizations in every Michigan county having six or more resident alumni. The University itself, under authority of the President, was to send representatives into the counties for organization purposes, and at least once every two years the President or his delegated Senate member was to visit each local club and address a public meeting upon the University, its needs, and its relation to the people of the state. And finally, each bulletin issued by the University was to be sent gratis to each of the alumni resident in the state. This advance in the integration of the alumni, to which President Hutchins gave a tremendous impetus, has ever since been a real and growing force in the development of the institution.

In November, 1908, a new impulse was given to faculty study abroad by the Regents' adoption of the following resolution, clarifying one of 1904:

*"Resolved,* That when members of the Faculty, teaching in the Summer Session, shall leave their salary with the University with the purpose of earning leave of absence for one semester, or one year, in accordance

with the resolution taken February, 1904, the salaries paid such members of the Faculty while on such leave of absence shall be charged to the Summer Session to the amount actually earned in such Summer Sessions, and the balance of such salary paid while on leave of absence shall be charged to the department on the pay roll of which such member of the Faculty ordinarily appears."

For the period of more than a dozen years that this plan was in operation it put a helpful force behind both foreign study and the summer session.

A saddening experience for the President was the resignation of his long-time friend and confidant, Secretary James H. Wade, under unhappy circumstances. In a report by a Regents' committee following his resignation Mr. Wade was exonerated from any wrong intent, and he clearly retained the respect of his faculty colleagues and of his fellow townsmen. It remained undisputed, however, that he had given some cause, even if innocently, for the rumors of mishandling University money and materials. A disgruntled campus workman had taken these rumors to the Attorney General of the state, and when this latter official one evening came unannounced with a stenographer to interrupt Mr. Wade at dinner and began to question him he was less than candid in some of his replies. Moreover, he had been so economical in the scope of his University record-keeping that when it was of importance to present and prove facts he largely lacked means of doing so. When all ended, it was the community's conclusion that the sins against this seventy-four-year-old man after his service of twenty-five years much outweighed any errors or derelictions on his part. The Treasurer of the University, Major Harrison Soule, who like Mr. Wade had served since 1883 and was three years older, had already resigned under happy and agreeable circumstances. These three, Angell, Wade, and Soule, had for years, as the so-called Auditing Board, administered together most of the University's minor or routine business as distinct from academic matters. It was very depressing to the President, oldest of them all, that he should now be left alone, with only the young successors of Messrs. Wade and Soule as his office associates. It would be many years before these men could know an old man's emotions. From his gracious association with them they could glean no suspicion of how the old President must have felt. The loss of Wade and Soule helped to wring from him the words already quoted, addressed to his daughter, "I think I must try to get out of it."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> P. 297.



Everyone knew his tenancy must end soon. The alumni began to redouble the kindnesses born of their affection. For his eightieth birthday the Detroit graduates desired to tender him a dinner, but this tribute he could not accept, as he was to be at Cornell on that date, presiding at a meeting of the Association of American Universities. In June the Senate tendered him a dinner and testimonial in which the Regents co-operated, designating Regent Walter H. Sawyer as their spokesman.

The courtly Regent Arthur Hill on January 7, 1909, sent the following letter from his Saginaw home, where he was then entering the last long illness from which he died in the succeeding December:

"To the Honorable Board of Regents of the University of Michigan.

*"Gentlemen:*—To commemorate this, his eightieth birthday, I hereby offer to present to you, to be placed in Memorial Hall, a monument in bas-relief, wrought in bronze or marble, of Dr. James Burrill Angell,—Scholar, Diplomat, Educator, Broad-minded Citizen, and for thirty-seven years the beloved President of this University.

"Should this proposal meet with your favor I shall take pleasure in promptly procuring and submitting to your consideration plans suitable in character and artistic design to the purpose sought."

At the Board meeting on the eleventh, at which Hill was not present, after the President had expressed his gratification, the Regents accepted the proffer thus:

*"Resolved,* That the Board of Regents, realizing that the feeling which inspired Regent Arthur Hill to present the memorial of President James Burrill Angell, is typical of the regard and respect for President Angell, shared by all the people of the State of Michigan, hereby accepts the memorial with acknowledgments of appreciation."

The result was the bronze to the right as one enters the main doors of Alumni Memorial Hall. It faces the companion-piece in memory of President Tappan.

On February 17, 1909, came the inevitable end. The President called Regent Leland to the chair, and after reading the letter appearing below, left the meeting.

"To the Board of Regents:

"Four years ago I tendered my resignation to you in the belief that the interests of the University would be subserved by the appointment to the Presidency of a younger man. You declined in such kind words to accept my resignation that I have continued at my post, and rendered the best service of which I was capable.

"But as I have now passed my eightieth birthday, it is fitting that I should renew the tender of my resignation. I therefore do so with the urgent request that you accept it, to take effect at the end of this academic year.

"May I take this occasion to express to you again my sincere thanks for all your courtesy and kindness to me?

Yours very truly,  
James B. Angell."

Then on motion of Regent Knappen the Board accepted the resignation, thus:

"This Board has received with regret the assurance of our beloved President, Doctor James Burrill Angell, that the time has come when, in his judgment, he should be permitted to retire from the active direction of the affairs of this University.

"We desire to record here and now some measure of our appreciation of his services to this institution, of which he so long has been the head.

"It is now nearly thirty-eight years since he assumed the presidency of this University. Under his leadership it has grown in student attendance from about twelve hundred to more than five thousand, with a corresponding increase in faculty membership. Its advance in effectiveness of educational work and in all that goes to make a university great has been no less prominently marked. The proud position which this University has attained is due, more than to all other elements combined, to the fact that for more than one-half its entire life it has been blessed with his learning, his culture, his wisdom, his tact and, above all, with the example and inspiration of his high-minded, christian character.

"It is impossible to calculate the impress for good given to the world by the forty thousand men and women who have carried with them from this institution into their work and in their lives the commanding influence of his rich character and personality.

"Proud as he may justly be of the homage which the world justly yields him as educator, diplomat and publicist, he has even greater cause for pride in the grateful affection of the people of this State, whom he has served so long and so abundantly, and in the love of the army of students, whose lives he has directly enriched and to whom he will always stand for all that is highest and best in scholarly attainments, in private character, and in public and private citizenship."

Regent Fletcher followed this with his motion, which was adopted as the final action in the morning session:



*“Resolved, That the Board of Regents hereby tenders to James Burrill Angell the appointment of Chancellor of the University of Michigan, the duties of the office to be such as, at the request of the President, he may be willing and able to perform; the salary for such office to be \$4,000 per year, with house rent, light, water, and fuel, so long as he sees fit to occupy his present residence; said appointment to take effect at the close of this academic year.”*<sup>3</sup>

On reassembling in the afternoon much time was given to an informal discussion of possible successors, involving many questions addressed to the President concerning men whose names were mentioned by one or another of the Regents. After forty-five years one recalls some of the pointed, terse, informed expressions of his views: “But can you get him? I doubt if he could be moved.” “A good man to have on board, but perhaps not the best to steer the ship.” “Ah! There’s the blue steel!”<sup>4</sup> The final act of the session was the naming of four Regents as a committee to consider the succession: Knappen, Hill, Sawyer, and Fletcher. No better selections could have been made, but it must be admitted that no practical result was achieved.

On April 28 Angell expressed his gratification at the generous terms of the Board’s acceptance of his resignation, when he wrote:

“To the Regents:—

“I beg to thank you for complying at your February meeting with my urgent request that you accept my resignation of the office of President, to take effect at the end of the academic year, and for making so

<sup>3</sup> Judge Knappen wrote him January 23: “I should rather see you remain connected with the University, and drawing a salary therefrom, than to have you a pensioner of Mr. Carnegie’s bounty. I feel that the State owes to you this, and much more than this. I also feel that you are entitled to remain in your home, and I greatly welcome a plan which will enable this to be accomplished.”

<sup>4</sup> A longer estimate of one of the many men proposed is found in an Angell letter to Regent Sawyer, in the following November: “Since I saw you I have read some of Wilson’s many recent utterances, and at Dartmouth heard him make a half hour’s speech on college matters. In all these he was brilliant. But I am bound to say they have changed my feeling about his fitness for us.

“He is in dreamland on college life. His ideals are practically those of the English college in which the teachers & students live together & so the boys are brought into constant personal contact with their instructors. A beautiful picture, but of a life absolutely impossible in the American college & above all in a great Am’n Univ. It means entire reconstruction & the expenditure of millions. It is a ‘counsel of perfection.’ It calls for millions even in a small college like Princeton.

“Still, if you wish me to sound him, I know him well enough to do so, and am at the service of the Board—always presupposing that they are sure they want him, if he can be had.

“I sat by his side through the long supper at Hanover.”

liberal provision for me by tendering me a generous salary and the use of the President's house and an honorable title which continues my official connection with the University.

"I accept most gratefully your offer with the hope that in some degree I may indirectly at least yet render some service to the institution. I cannot but think, however, that it might be more expedient to substitute, if you are willing, the title of President Emeritus for that of Chancellor. Under our present usage in American universities, the former title would in my opinion indicate more exactly than the latter what should be my future relation to my successor. I venture to suggest for your consideration that change in your offer.

Yours respectfully,  
James B. Angell"

The change of title to President Emeritus was made May 12, when all members of the Board were present.<sup>5</sup>

At the April meeting as one of his last recorded acts as Regent, Mr. Hill presented an engrossed copy of a House Resolution. This was accepted by the Board with direction that it be placed in the University archives. The House action was as follows:

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Lansing, Michigan

House Resolution No. 73

"WHEREAS, Dr. James B. Angell, after long and faithful service as the illustrious President of the University of Michigan, has seen fit to lay down the duties of his office, crowned with years and honor; and

"WHEREAS, The people of the State of Michigan deeply appreciate the invaluable service he has rendered to the cause of education in this State; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, By the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, in regular session assembled, that we tender to President Angell this

<sup>5</sup> On May 19 the President wrote to Mrs. McLaughlin: "I do not see that there is any surcease to your engagements. Of course mine are to go on increasing until after Commencement, Com<sup>e</sup> meetings, Senate Councils, Senate meetings, Faculty meetings, Regent meetings are all piling up. I am out every ev'g this week, & am busy most of the day time. Meanwhile I am struggling with a baccalaureate. Tomorrow ev'g the Seniors want me to dine with them at the Mich. Union. I have now (10 p.m.) just come from the Nurses' Graduation exercises. . . .

"I shall be most glad to see you here at the Senate supper, though what I am to say at all these suppers I can't imagine. The students give one May 28th, & are raising money for a loving cup. I have told their Com<sup>es</sup> that I did not wish them spending money for me."



expression of our high appreciation of his personal character and worth, and our grateful recognition of the work he has accomplished for the State during the years he has been at the head of our University, which through his efforts now ranks among the greatest in the country; and

*“Resolved, Further,* That suitably engrossed copies of this resolution be presented to Dr. Angell and to the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan.

Colin P. Campbell,  
Speaker.”

Paul H. King,  
Clerk

On September 28, Angell presided for the last time and presented his last annual report. It was a matter-of-fact consideration of the events of the year, without reference to his own retirement, unless there be some connotation in his concluding words:

“With these suggestions the University with its great possibilities of usefulness to the state is commended to the citizens of Michigan, who are all stockholders in it and who cannot but wish for its highest prosperity and greatest usefulness.”

# *Retirement*

## *Can Be Busy*

### CHAPTER XXXIV

*B*efore release from official responsibilities there were a number of duties to be performed that hinged on retirement rather than on the presidency. In a letter to Mrs. McLaughlin, by all odds his most frequent correspondent throughout his remaining years,<sup>1</sup> he wrote on March 23, of a trip through the East, where he and Regent Hill and Professor Emil Lorch had visited artists' studios to arrange for the bas-relief the Regent had presented. The work was ultimately executed by Karl Bitter and was unveiled June 29, 1910. On this eastern journey he "called on Carnegie to deliver the resolutions of our Regents, & was detained a long time by him showing me his presents from King and Kaiser & others, evidently with great pride, not to say complacency." In this letter to his daughter he refers to the dinners, resolutions, addresses, and other pleasant but ultimately wearying honors, thus, "You speak of my being hardened to ovations. Though of course one cannot but be gratified at them, I shall in a way be relieved, when the necessity for them is in large degree past." He was too human to wish that such tokens of regard should become altogether things of the past.

George Herbert Palmer wrote from Cambridge, expressing the hope that new leisure might result in literary work based on the experience of the years. "Your spirit has so fully penetrated it [the University] that you will still be ruling it even after you take off your cap & gown. Few

<sup>1</sup> The way in which through these years, the father repeatedly turned to the daughter, suggests the old rhyming proverb:

A son is a son  
Till he gets him a wife,  
But a daughter's a daughter  
Through all of her life.



persons in this country have ever had so good reason to be satisfied with their lives."

On May 28 the students gathered to a number that filled every seat in Waterman Gymnasium for a simple, low-cost dinner in his honor. He was the only person present who was not a member of the student body. Eight toasts were offered, and he was presented with an elaborate loving cup. In his response, in which he seemed more obviously moved than was usual, he spoke in particular of his abiding desire to know students, not in the mass, but as individuals, when he said in part:

"I have always, myself, during all my long years with students, now numbering fifty-six in fact, longed to have my relations with them personal rather than official, and I think that I have never neglected any means within my power to make my students understand that fact. In my earlier days I was connected with two colleges which were small enough to permit me to gather my classes under our roof, and my wife joined with me often in inviting them to our house and breaking bread with them. I have felt that nothing we ever did for them, and certainly nothing I ever did in class was so serviceable to them and so agreeable to us, as this companionship of those who were near us. When I came to Michigan I looked about to see whether anything of that sort were possible here. Unhappily, though the numbers were comparatively small, they were too great to make that practicable, but for years we did, at the close of their senior year, invite the senior class of the Literary Department to a reception at our house which was an occasion of great delight to us. After a while the professional schools began to have their Commencements in June and we tried the same experiment with all, attempting to gather them at our house, about six hundred, on Commencement week, and there they came with fathers, mothers, and sweethearts besides, in many cases, much to our gratification, as well as theirs, but unhappily the dimensions of my house, much smaller then than now, and even the dooryard outside proved insufficient, and we were compelled to abandon that kind of personal relations with the students. This has been a great disappointment and trial to me. I used to, up to that time, about 1880, register every student in the Literary Department as he arrived and so came to know them all and often their parents. I also during these years filled the office of Dean. All applications for excuses were made to me, and I am afraid I was rather too lenient in my duties, but I have yet to hear any complaint on that score from any graduate.

"At that time when I went away to China there were between seven

hundred and eight hundred students in the Literary Department, and though I never had any opportunity to come into such close relations with the professional students, I believe at the time when I left I could address every student in the Literary Department by name, and that was a great deal to me. It has been a great privation to me that it has been impossible for me in late years to have that pleasure in my daily life. So much for my personal experience here in that regard.”<sup>2</sup>

At the Senate dinner, June 4, in Barbour Gymnasium he listened to more encomiums and was presented with a set of resolutions bound with a specially designed cover of silver and fine leather.<sup>3</sup>

In October, in recognition of his status as an educator and of his service to the Japanese students who during his time had come to Michigan, the Emperor of Japan conferred on Angell “the First Class of the Imperial Order of the Sacred Treasure.” The insigne of the order and its diploma came to him through the Japanese Embassy in Washington.<sup>4</sup>

In May, 1910, the testimonial dinner was again invoked as a means of showing respect and affection. Somewhat more than two hundred Detroit leaders entertained him at the Pontchartrain Hotel and invited for the occasion distinguished speakers including Governor Warner of Michigan, John W. Foster, former Secretary of State, who spoke of Angell as a diplomat, President Charles F. Thwing of Western Reserve, Charles D. Walcott of the Smithsonian Institution, Matthew H. Buckham, President of the University of Vermont, and Martin L. D’Ooge, each of whom spoke on the phases of the President’s career with which he was especially familiar. The President responded with that combination of modesty and good sense that marked his utterances on such occasions.

Demands for his presence and words at alumni gatherings and at various academic and scholarly convocations still kept him “on the go” as the meetings designed to honor him at retirement slacked off. He gave the address at the dedication of the John Hay Library at Brown. In June, 1910, he wrote to his friend Eliot: “Like yourself I am very busy. I am doing no University work. But as I am out of office, I am, as I presume you are, called on for all sorts of good work outside, much of which I am very glad to do. I have carefully refrained from taking any part in choosing my successor. No choice has been made. Dean

<sup>2</sup> *Mich. Alumnus*, 15, No. 145 (1909), pp. 381–82.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> Angell Papers.



Hutchins is administering successfully. The Regents do not find the task of finding the right man easy.

"I do not find myself embarrassed by remaining in this house. It keeps me pleasantly near my old colleagues who kindly do much to make life cheerful for me. I am trying to do some writing for myself, but so far have secured little leisure for it."

On February 4, 1911, Angell was in New York to speak at the truly great National Dinner. One cannot better record this event than by quoting from *Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan*: "This was, in solid fact, an astonishing and a momentous event. The New York Central Railroad had run a special train for it from Ann Arbor and Detroit. The walls of the great ballroom [of the Hotel Astor] were lined with lighted transparencies of Michigan campus scenes, including prominently the old Library Towers. From time to time the chimes sounded. The singing was led by former members of the Glee Club who in their numbers nearly swamped Professor Albert A. Stanley when he invited them to come forward. Primarily, the guests of honor included a justice of the United States Supreme Court, four United States senators, and twenty-four members of Congress—all twenty-nine of these being alumni of Michigan. But the President of the University, the President Emeritus, the entire Board of Regents, and a number of the older members of the faculty were honored guests in their own right. If any state in the Union was not represented among those present—just a little under one thousand men—the fact was not recorded. Of course, it was a 'splurge'—that is what it was intended to be—but it was a *great* 'splurge.' The overshadowing purpose of the gathering was to demonstrate to the country in general and to Michigan alumni in particular the national character of the University of Michigan, and in this it succeeded beyond any object lesson ever previously vouchsafed either to Michigan or to the country.

"The *Alumnus* for March issued a special supplement that reported the occasion in full, with a verbatim record of the addresses responding to the toasts proposed by [Earl D.] Babst, '93, who after his introduction by Dr. Royal S. Copeland, '89, president of the New York Club (later United States Senator), acted as master of ceremonies at the dinner. The invocation was pronounced by Bishop Charles Sumner Burch, '75. The first speaker was Justice William R. Day, on the subject, 'The Judicial Power of the Nation.' President Hutchins was introduced as 'not only your new President, but your old friend and fellow alumnus.' He spoke on University problems as he saw them. Senator Sutherland followed,

expressing what he called the views of a conservative in what was then regarded as a radical day. Representative James F. Burke was introduced as 'a member of that University of Michigan alumni association sometimes known as Congress,' and he considered 'Laws and Lawmakers.' Governor Chase S. Osborn spoke on the University as the state's great asset, and President Angell closed the program with one of the simple, appealing talks which it used to seem that only he could give: 'When we meet the call which must come to all of us, and to some of us not a long way off, we can delight our hearts with the enthusiastic belief and the positive conviction that the University itself is destined now to go on with increasing prosperity and power and blessing to the world until the last syllable of recorded time.' They sang 'America' and 'The Yellow and Blue.'

"It was Sunday morning, but no man had left until President Angell finished and the song had died away. And when the last hand had been shaken and the last retreating footsteps had reached the stairs or the elevators—for weeks afterward alumni of Michigan all over the world were awakening to a new thrill as a part of something very wonderful indeed. Call it 'splurge' or 'showmanship' or what you will, the National Dinner did something for us, wheresoever we were in the whole world."

It had continued to be the custom of the law students to mark Washington's birthday with an address by some nationally known orator. In less than three weeks after his return from New York, at the age of eighty-two, Angell was the speaker on this occasion, taking as his subject, "The Influence of the Lawyer Outside of his Profession." He thought well of what he said that day and chose it as seventh in his *Selected Addresses*. It was an appeal, full of illustrations of his meaning, that his hearers might not content themselves with being mere precedent-citing case winners, but would strive, along with doing their duty by their clients, toward a development of the law in the broader field wherein the Founding Fathers had contributed to the liberty and happiness of their fellow citizens. For cure of the weariness that was sure to come from contentious court rooms, he urged recourse to the best in literature, quoting Rufus Choate's famous words at the dedication of Peabody Institute and citing examples of distinguished lawyers whose elegance of scholarship did not distract from their legal eminence. On those who would go into politics, he urged genuine statesmanship as an ultimate aim, and commended history, political economy, political science, and international law, as aids. "The statesman of today cannot afford to begin his study of political principles with the platform of his



party or even with the Constitution of the United States. As well might the lawyer content himself with reading the latest digest of the statutes of his State. No, he needs to go back to the fountains, whence these streams of political ideas and principles flowed, to study them all in their course and see what thriving villages and populous cities and happy homes have sprung up on the banks before he can comprehend their true spirit and power. Our greatest statesmen have not spurned such study"—and of these he recalled many examples.

It is a long and appealing address and impossible of summation. Perhaps as good an abstract as could be made is found in his own closing sentences: "In conclusion, may I say that if any one of you is ambitious to exert a beneficent influence outside of your profession for which the world is so indebted to your brethren, you must be, and every one can be, something more than a human digest of statutes or a walking volume of reports. Serve your profession as though she were your bride, giving her your affection, your talent, and your zeal, even though she be a jealous bride. But remember, the larger and the richer is your general culture, the more complete and balanced is your intellectual and moral development, the more a rich and generous manhood overlaps and enfolds and transfuses and inspires your profession, the broader and deeper and more enduring will be your influence as a lawyer, a citizen, a statesman, and a man."

In January, 1912, he terminated his regency of the Smithsonian Institution, which had covered twenty-five years.

In that same month, his long-time friend, James Bryce, then British Ambassador in Washington, wrote that he found it impossible to give the Commencement Address and be entertained again with Mrs. Bryce in the Angell home. Bryce wrote of Angell's *Reminiscences*: "Since beginning this letter I have been reading in the little volume of your *Reminiscences* which your devoted pupil Albert Hale has lent me, your most interesting recollections of your days at Brown Univ. and your teachers there, and have been struck by the contrast between the praise you can give to it and them and the accounts I have heard of the intellectual sterility of Harvard about then from ex Governor Long and other Mass. friends of mine. . . .

"Your account of the South in those days is also extremely graphic."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On the long-time friendship between Angell and Bryce the following from the former's *Reminiscences* is illuminating: "One of my more recent visitors was the British Ambassador James Bryce, whose versatility was admirably displayed. In the evening he gave a most scholarly address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society on Culture. The next noon he addressed the Detroit Chamber of Commerce on Municipal

But Andrew D. White was present at the celebration of Commencement week, 1912, marking what was then regarded as the seventy-fifth anniversary of the University. When the date of the establishment of the territorial University in 1817 was later accepted as the beginning of things, it moved the University's foundation back twenty years. On his return home White wrote Angell: "Mrs. White and I agree in thinking our Michigan journey & stay one of the most delightful of all our experiences.

"To me there was an added joy in seeing the realization of so many old dreams of mine—and indeed of far more and better than any I had dared to form.

"The whole life of Ann Arbor in my time was always beautiful to me, but you have brought to it *peace*—and a charm wh. in the old days it had not reached.

"And the *go* of the whole thing!—I am still young enough to like that too,—and the admirable way in wh. your whole festival, in all its parts, was conducted! . . .

"Please give our best regards & wishes to your daughter who did so much to make every moment pleasant for us—and to all the others who are still with you. What a lovely household you have!"

An unhappy interlude had intervened in the summer of 1911, when in company with Professor and Mrs. D'Ooge he made his last trip to Europe. It was a pleasant and agreeable excursion until the three ventured into Russia. There everything went wrong. There is an account of the experience of these aged travelers (Angell was eighty-two, D'Ooge, seventy-two) in a scrapbook loaned by a grandson, Professor Robert Cooley Angell: "They found the railway and hotel accommodations wretched. They were forced to buy their railway tickets twice over, and were vexed and annoyed in scores of ways. In the shops, on the streets, in the hotels, on the trains, they seldom found anyone who could speak a language other than that of the country, and none of the travelers could speak Russian, although all three spoke German and French most

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Government, in which his great familiarity with municipal experiments and discussions, both European and American, appeared; in the evening he addressed the University Club in Detroit on the changes in American college and university life since his first visit to our country. In this address he showed a knowledge of our academic life that could not be surpassed by any of our college presidents. All these addresses were given without a scrap of paper before him. One was reminded of the offer ascribed to Mr. Carnegie to bet a million dollars that Mr. Bryce knows more than any other man in the world."



perfectly and had started to tour Russia with the understanding that they would have no difficulty in being understood.

"There was trouble about passports from the beginning to the end of their journey through Russia, till Dr. Angell became exasperated to the very limit. They decided to go into Germany as soon as possible and they engaged sleeping accommodations on the train. When they started they were promised a fairly pleasant journey out of the country.

"But once started, they were refused their reservations—someone else, a Russian of prominence, had taken possession. They had to take other reservations, paying a second time for miserably poor reservations, even for Russia. Despite the fact that their passports had been passed upon before the train started, Dr. Angell was awakened or annoyed at least every hour, and his papers demanded and his tickets wrangled over, all through the one day and two nights that it took them to get out of the country.

"On the morning of the third day [after arrival in Germany] Dr. Angell suffered a stroke of paralysis [affecting his left side]. He was at once rushed to Berlin, where an excellent specialist was secured" under whose care he improved.

On learning by cable of his father's illness James Rowland Angell took the first steamer, arriving in Berlin in a week. The elder Angell mended so rapidly that within a month he was back in Ann Arbor, without feeling the necessity even for a rest-stop in New York. But the illness really marked the beginning of his decline; two years later, in September, 1913, his lack of resistance to an attack of pneumonia was traced by his physician to the weakness induced by the nervous strain and physical hardships of the Russian journey.

# Sunset

## CHAPTER XXXV

*D*uring Angell's last months his eyesight failed to the extent that he could no longer read. His grandson, Robert C. Angell, recalls one of the few remarks indicative of any disturbed serenity, when he observed: "Things have come to a pretty pass when I have to get my news of the world through the *Detroit Free Press* as read aloud by Kate Martin, she making her own selections." But happily this necessity did not interfere with his lifelong habits until almost the last, and up to 1915 we find him commenting in correspondence on books he has been reading. But his gradually failing sight made his penmanship harder and harder to decipher.

Until the spring of 1916 his interest in life did not flag. President Hutchins whose gracious courtesy to his predecessor was constant and genuine, invited him to speak at the Baccalaureate services of the 1913 Commencement. Angell's summing up an old man's conclusions for the graduating class was:

"It might well suffice for me, as one who has had many years of observation of the careers of college graduates, to content myself merely with commending to you most heartily, the words of wisdom which the President has addressed to you. But as he has courteously urged me to add a few words, in the brief remarks with which I can, with any propriety, claim your attention at this time, I wish with you to take an inventory of some of the principal gains which you will find college life has brought to you. Without aiming to indicate their relative importance by the order in which I name them, I will say:

"First, and conspicuous among them, if your experience shall prove to resemble mine, I will mention college friendships. To be thrown, at the most receptive period of life, with a group of choice comrades pursuing the same or similar studies, cherishing the same high ideals and aspirations, discussing with them in a friendly way, your differences



of opinion on every conceivable subject, is to lay the foundations of the most precious, most enduring, and most helpful friendships, which one can ever form.<sup>1</sup> Give thanks for this privilege, which your university experience has brought to you.

"Secondly; I attach high importance to the intellectual discipline, which you have acquired. I do not underrate the immediate practical use of the things you have learned. But of far greater value in the long run is the mental power, which in learning them, you have gained for solving any intellectual problems which may come to you. It is the enlarged capacity to employ your mind as a tool for meeting the new and unforeseen demands of life that I refer to as your invaluable possession. The acquisition of this power makes and measures the difference between an uneducated and an educated man.

"Thirdly; I name the increased love, the passion, I hope I may call it, for learning in its largest sense. Your studies have been, in a measure, circumscribed by the limits of time, but what you have completed may have fired you with the unquenchable desire, and I hope it has, to make conquests far beyond your present possession. If so, you have won the inspiration of the real scholar and with it the unconquerable love of truth as the end of all study and research.

"Fourthly; I trust and believe you have caught the spirit of unselfish service to others, which I think is animating the American universities as never before. Indeed, it is imbuing the public as never before. In my judgment, there is much unjustifiable denunciation of our generation as consumed by greed and selfishness. Was there ever a time when so much generosity was lavished on colleges, hospitals, philanthropic and Christian institutions of every kind, and so much attention given to prison reform, public sanitation, care for the poor, missions of mercy of every kind? The spirit of service has especially permeated the colleges of America, so that I believe never were the graduating classes going forth to their careers with so devoted a spirit of service to their fellow men. And I rejoice in the conviction that you are going forth with your full share of it as the richest gift you carry from the University to mankind.

"And lastly; in this inventory which I am sketching, you carry with you, I am sure, the spirit you have gained of loyal devotion to the University. It was long thought that the graduates of the state university did not cherish the filial spirit of the graduates of the endowed universities. I am glad to say, if it was ever true, it is so no longer of the graduates

<sup>1</sup> He must have been thinking of Hazard, Diman, and Murray.

of this University. The enthusiastic alumni associations organized in all the states from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and even in foreign states, and the loving messages that are continually coming from them to us, give abundant proof to the contrary. All love blesses the heart that loves as well as the object of its love. So as you go forth to your various pursuits in life, may your affection for your Alma Mater, which will lead you to linger often and proudly over the memories of the happy scenes and associations of your days here, be a perennial joy to you, while our delight at your happy and successful lives shall furnish to those of us, who have had the pleasure of making your acquaintance here, and who remain to represent the University, an equal and enduring joy."

Representative extracts from his frequent letters to Mrs. McLaughlin will best bring out what was mostly occupying his mind during the final three years:

*January 17, 1913*

"On my birthday I was deluged with flowers, letters, cards & telegrams.

"I shall look with deep interest for your letters, showing how you settle down in Munich, and especially how the children will get into their work.

"We are having a very mild winter, with a little sleighing. My health goes on about the same. I take my daily walk down town & take the car back. I gave a lecture a week for Prof. Reeves on Int. Law in his absence, and rather enjoyed it."

*April 8, 1913*

"Spring seems to be bringing you pleasant excursions. It is very tardy here. The rains, I am sorry to say, keep the flooded districts south of us still uncomfortable, and as yet the bodies of the three drowned students have not been recovered.<sup>2</sup>

"I visited the Auditorium Saturday. Now that the staging is down it is most imposing. Standing on the upper gallery, while the architect was on the stage, he & I, talking in an ordinary tone, heard each other perfectly. It will be ready for the May Festival."

*May 7, 1913*

"Your letter from Venice came in yesterday. I quite appreciated your joy both there & in Vienna. I wish you could have taken in Prague, which is wonderfully interesting. . . .

<sup>2</sup> In a canoeing tragedy on the Huron River, March 30, three students lost their lives.



"The Senior 'Swing-out' is tomorrow & presses me into service. In fact I have been doing a good deal of talking lately & have some more coming. It does not seem to harm me and I hope not the audiences."

*May 29, 1913*

"We had a part of Lohengrin & much other superb music at the Festival, but Wagner should be heard in Opera."

*July 10, 1913*

"You will be grieved, but not surprised, to hear that your Uncle Tom<sup>3</sup> died . . . yesterday, and will be buried at Annapolis tomorrow. . . . I regret that I do not think it well to undertake the journey to Annapolis.

"I shall miss Tom much, the last of his family, and a most lovable man. Your mother, being called to be both mother and sister to him, was devotedly attached to him."

*July 24, 1913*

"Yes, I have been up the Rigi, spent the night to see the sunrise & had a rainy morning, but a fine sunset. It was on my first visit to Europe when I walked<sup>4</sup> from Zurich to Rome. I am glad you are so enjoying your walks.

"The extreme hot weather discouraged me about going east. But it has now turned cool, and my pluck is rising & perhaps I may go a week hence, if I can get railway accommodations, which are hard to secure owing to the rush of travel. My next letter will tell.

"This is your mother's 82d birthday, & so brings many tender memories to me. It is delightful to see how lovingly & how largely her memory is cherished here."

Here his serious illness intervened.

*May 31, 1914*

"Kate and I drove yesterday morning with flowers to the cemetery. At 10 o'clock about fifteen of the Daughters of the Revolution headed by Mrs. Wait assembled by your mother's grave. After a few words by Mrs. Wait Mrs. Dibble read a very nice tribute to your mother, a copy of which I hope to send you. Led by Mrs. Wait we sang America in closing. Mrs. Lombard in the name of the chapter laid lilies of the valley on the grave.

<sup>3</sup> Admiral Thomas Caswell.

<sup>4</sup> In the mid-nineties the author's room-mate came in chuckling late one night. "I just met Prexy *running* around the campus," he explained.

"You might report this to James. This remembrance of your mother was very touching to me.

"The Lombards and the Jordans have dined here today. The Kents are with the D'Ooges for Sunday. He seems to be much improved in health.

"I was at the Sc.[ientific] Club with Mortimer Cooley last ev'g.

"My leg continues inconveniently weak, so that I have not been to see the Kents today. I did attend Mrs. Jordan's play & party for the Faculty children yesterday. Sarah & Abigail & her children came out. A dozen invalid children from the Hospital came. It was very entertaining."

*June 29, 1914*

"Com't week passed off pleasantly. . . .

"Dr. Brünnow<sup>5</sup> & son arrived Wednesday morning & left Thursday ev'g for Detroit. The Tappan celebration & dinner of the old Tappan graduates went off well. It was pathetic to see the gray-haired men & to note their enthusiasm. Dr. B. was much impressed. Having lived here till five years of age, he remembered the old house very distinctly. He says he was born in the N.W. chamber, now cut into the guests' bathroom & the sewing room.

"I have walked down town this morning for the first time for two weeks."

His grandson, David Blair McLaughlin, in the late summer of 1914, while swimming at a Chicago beach, dived into water shallower than he supposed. His neck was broken, and for weeks the family fears and hopes alternated. He died on October 16, three days before his nineteenth birthday. In his serene and pleasantly expectant disposition, David McLaughlin as a boy seemed to friends perhaps nearer to being a reproduction of his grandfather than did any of the other grandsons. He was buried in Ann Arbor in the Angell lot, where in time his father and mother and his brother, Rowland Hazard McLaughlin, killed in World War I, followed him to lie beside his grandfather and grandmother.

*October 12, 1914*

"It is impossible not to be encouraged by the news of Saturday & Sunday from A. & you, especially that the Sunday has passed so well. God grant that the auspices may be confirmed. May the gleam of hope become a full ray."

<sup>5</sup> He was a grandson of President Tappan.



*October 25, 1914*

"I am glad to hear you are hard at your regular work. It is the best thing.

"I wish to say to you that I hold a receipted bill from the undertaker here, and will file it with my bills. So give yourself no further concern about that. You must have drafts enough on you without this."

*November 15, 1914*

"To show my physical condition I may say that yesterday I attended the Cornell Football game & saw Mich. badly beaten & then went to the Scientific Club at Guthe's. . . . Last week I attended the Woman's League House girls reception. I feel much sympathy with them.

"You will not forget that you will always feel free to come here, whenever it will be restful to you. You are always on our minds."

*November 22, 1914*

"A cold & disagreeable week here. Thursday I attended the D.A.R. meeting at Mrs. Wait's & spoke on Neutrality to a large company. Your mother's name attached to the Chapter interests me in it."

*December 7, 1914*

"I am so glad to learn from your letter that you and the children & Andrew were going to have a pleasant little outing with the Webbs. It is best to keep up the cheerful side of life.

"No, the stormy week has not kept me in. I seldom stop for weather & think I am in better case for going out daily, as I have generally done, regardless of weather.

"The Professors here are in good spirits owing to the increase in the scale of salaries, which the increase in the revenue of the Univ. allows."

*December 14, 1914*

"It is my present intention to go to James & Marion on the 24th & dine with you on Christmas.

"The D'Ooges are going south Jan. 5, first to New Orleans, probably afterwards to Florida & Cuba. He calls on me daily, and I shall miss him much. The Professors have a club room under the Memorial Building. I go there occasionally & I attend both the old clubs on Saturday ev'gs, so I keep in touch with folks a bit.

"D'Ooge & I dined with the Psi U's on Sunday. I had previously dined with two other Fraternities, who had kindly invited me. As I did not know them it was very kind of them."

*December 17, 1914* (To his granddaughter, Isabel McLaughlin)

"My dear Isabel:

Your mother has kindly sent me a copy of the School Magazine, of which you are Editor. It does you and your co-workers great credit, not only by the excellence of the Articles, but by the good taste and accuracy of the printing. I have frequent occasion to complain to the editors of the Michigan Daily of the misprints I find in it. As an old editor of the Providence Journal, I have a very quick eye for mistakes in printing. I have seen none in your Magazine, and so wish to congratulate you most heartily.

Yours lovingly,  
Grandfather"

*December 20, 1914*

"The war continues its horrible course, & casts a big cloud over Christmas. But we may try to appreciate the Christian helps to our own individual lives, and be thankful therefor." <sup>6</sup>

*January 7, 1915* (Eighty-sixth birthday)

"I hasten to thank you for your remembrance of the day & in the original manner of 80 reds & 6 whites.

"My house is filled with flowers & I am flooded with telegrams from the Atlantic to the Pacific. All this leaves me in a very humble frame of mind when I think how little I deserve it."

*January 24, 1915*

"I have been reading with much interest 'The Sunny Side of Diplomatic Life' and 'The Courts of Memory,' both very readable books by Miss Lillie Greenough of Cambridge. . . . They are gossip, but entertaining.

"Tell Andrew the 'British Empire' by Dunning, which he sent me, I think extremely well written.

"I am busy finishing the birthday books sent me."

*February 2, 1915*

"I never knew the streets so difficult for pedestrians. I did get to church Sunday morning. But yesterday I did not leave the house. Today with

<sup>6</sup> On reading this letter in full the author learns that he missed a good dinner, for the President began with the statement: "I expected Shirley Smith and Sara at dinner today & had a good one provided. Just before time for them S. telephoned that they were detained by the illness of one of their children. As it was too late to fill their places I had to dine alone, & have been alone all the afternoon."





"I seldom stop for weather"



The funeral cortege of President Angell



some difficulty I reached the cars. But the walks are hardly safe, especially for the lame. [Two years previously, when the Ann Arbor daily paper asked him for a birthday thought, he humorously advised: "If our citizens will be more assiduous in keeping their sidewalks free from snow and ice, I shall take my regular morning walks with more pleasure and a greater feeling of security."]

"At the request of the N[ew] Y[ork] Alumni I have just [been] sending a message to them by talking it into a machine.

"I am reading with great interest the 'Life of Phillips Brooks,' whom I used at times to hear in Providence, a fine type of Christian preacher.

"I am happy to say that in spite of the extreme cold last week, I have taken no cold, but have remained very well."

*May 13, 1915*

"We had a nice visit from the Englishman<sup>7</sup> [Macaulay's grandnephew], who seemed to some people here rather depressed, as any Englishman may well be in these days. But I did not find him so at dinner.

"We have now been having a very interesting Dutch lecturer, Van Loon, who was in the Siege of Antwerp & made us see the unspeakable misery of the modern trench war. He also lectured on Russia."

*May 30, 1915*

"I have ordered sent to you from N.Y. a copy of Fritz Kreisler, the violinist's 'Four Months in the Trenches,' about the most interesting military book I ever read, thinking you might read it on your journey East."

*June 27, 1915*

"It was a great joy to me to see all my children once more in my house.

"Saturday p.m. I took a drive with Sam over a beautiful route, over which I once drove your mother, about 6 miles out Liberty St. then north through a fine forest & back on Huron St. I never had been on it but once.

"Saturday morning I felt so well that I ventured in Sam's company to walk down town for the first time in weeks. I think it was a little premature, though it did me no harm. I have been trying some exercises by way of limbering up my 'dep't of the interior,' but do not yet see much result from it."

<sup>7</sup> George Macaulay Trevelyan, who was lecturing at the University.

*July 13, 1915*

"I am to see the Dr. tomorrow morning to see what he thinks of my going east [to Narragansett Pier]. I am rather inclined to think it may be well for me to go, though I do not long for it as I used to when your mother was with me & when I could bathe. I have been free from headache & dizziness for some time."

*July 25, 1915*

"We have just had the Ben Greet Company here for two days (without him) playing admirably. I have been to three plays & have much enjoyed them.

"The Regents met Thursday, & I lunched with them at the Golf Club.

"I have rather reluctantly decided to start on Aug. 3 for the Pier. I am feeling so well that I think I may profit by a month's absence."

*October 5, 1915*

"The subscriptions for the Mich. Union Bldg. are coming in at an astonishing rate. It really looks as though the million might be reached. One rather embarrassing feature is appearing. Requests have been coming in from all directions that the building shall be deemed a Memorial to me. I have been asked by the officers for my consent. Of course, being asked, I could not refuse. But I begged that it should be understood the suggestion was not mine."

*October 17, 1915*

"This has been a busy academic week. Not to speak of class & fraternity rushes & elections, on Friday the students were all assembled with the Faculties (in academic dress) in the Auditorium with an address by Mortimer Cooley on "Homely Ideals of Life," & in the evening the Faculty assembled in the Gymnasium to greet the new members (45 in number). I attended both functions.

"The number of students continues to increase, so that all past records are eclipsed.

"My health continues good, even my neuritic arm is nearly well."

*November 14, 1915*

"Last ev'g I dined at Hutchins' with ex-Presdt Taft and afterwards heard him give his Address on a Plan for Peace after the war is over. If you & Andrew have a chance to hear that, do not fail to go. It [is] very sane and full of historical knowledge. He was very entertaining at dinner."



*January 1, 1916*

"The first letter of the New Year to you with best of the day."

This, with a few brief lines following the greeting, was the last letter in the long series. For the next three months deterioration was rapid. Death came April 1. His physician, Dr. James F. Breakey, issued this statement: "President-Emeritus Angell's last serious illness was on January 24. This was a slight apoplectic attack affecting his vision, and was brought on in part by Dr. Angell's answering a great number of congratulatory notes on his birthday, which proved too much strain for him. From that time on a gradually increasing weakness due to the infirmities of his age was evident. This was more or less progressive up to last Wednesday, when terminal pneumonia appeared, accompanied by fever and difficulty in taking any form of nourishment. Since that time his life was a question only of his resistance to death. The fact that he was able to continue the fight the last two days was due entirely to his remarkable vitality. He died very peacefully at 11:50 a.m."

Funeral services were held Monday, April 3, with his pastor, Reverend Dr. Lloyd C. Douglas, as the clergyman. The cortege to Forest Hill Cemetery passed between a double line of students, their final tribute, though by the steps of the President's House the Glee Club had sung "Laudes Atque Carmina."

# Addresses and Writings

## CHAPTER XXXVI

*To the independent* or nonfraternity senior annual of 1896, the *Castalian*, the late able Professor Fred N. Scott <sup>1</sup> contributed an article entitled "President Angell as Seen in His Writings." He divided these into the four fields of Education, Literature, International Law and Diplomacy, and Religion. This still seems a good classification not only for Angell's productions up to that time but in later years. Scott lists thirty-five publications to 1896. For contributions that can be regarded as in the field of literature one must go back to his earlier days at Brown University, when he was endeavoring to give his students some idea of French and German beyond acquirement of a vocabulary and the drills in grammar. In this period he contributed a few articles to the *North American Review*, dwelling in particular upon the instances of English influence in the development of the German and French literatures:

"It is really very strange that no Englishman has yet been prompted by national pride or by scholarly zeal to record the triumphs which English literature has won beyond the shores of its island home. So minutely have the English military expeditions been described that we can track the soldiers over every foot of ground which they have trodden between Dover and Damascus, during the last eight hundred years. So diligently have the archives of cabinets and senates been searched, that scarcely a measure which England ever adopted, to regulate the public affairs of her faithful allies, or to thwart the designs

<sup>1</sup> Scott, for many years Professor of Rhetoric, a teacher remarkably resourceful and prolific in the devices he originated for developing in his students a "feeling" for the differing shades of meaning between words, was one of those who in Angell's final decade as President believed that he was not the leader he once had been. Scott confided his opinions to his diary.



of her vigilant foes, is unknown to the present generation. But is it not as well to observe how English ideas have embodied themselves in the romances and poems of foreigners, and thus entered into the very life of various nations, as to read of the petty details of a battle, or of the secret intrigues of diplomatists? Is it more important to learn that Count Dunois was wounded by an English archer at the battle of Herrings, in 1429, than that the *Paradise Lost* of Milton lent inspiration to Klopstock, and helped to call into being the modern literature of Germany? Is it more interesting to study the history of the many *liaisons* which the profligate Buckingham formed at Paris, professedly in the service of his country, than to hear how much Shakespeare has contributed to the beauty and spirit of poetry in the land of Lessing and Goethe?"<sup>2</sup>

Angell's comments in the *Review* (Vol. 86, p. 421) on Voltaire's first surrendering in his dramas to the influence of Shakespeare and his later renunciation of this influence rank, in Scott's opinion, on an equality with the views of any later critics or historians of the matter.

But the drudgery of administrative detail, by which as a University President he was soon gripped, seems invariably to demand as part of its price, the abandonment of creative or critical literature. He wrote no more in this field. It is the one quarter from which he gleaned nothing for his *Selected Addresses*. Of the eleven addresses he chose as those by which he hoped posterity would remember him, seven are in the field of education, including the memorial discourse on Dr. Frieze, and the "Influence of a Lawyer." From each of these, quotations have already been made. The Frieze memorial was largely devoted to the influence of a good teacher both in and out of the classroom, and the advice he gave to the would-be lawyers on Washington's birthday in 1911 clearly dealt with the kind of education they should seek.

Of the remaining four, two relate to diplomacy and nothing else: "The European Concert and the Monroe Doctrine," given before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, June 28, 1905,<sup>3</sup> and "The Turkish Capitulations," read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Detroit, in December, 1900. As indicated by its title "The Inadequate Recognition of Diplomats by Historians," while dealing with diplomacy and international law, is a criticism and a plea addressed

<sup>2</sup> *North American Rev.*, 84 (April, 1857), p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> That seasoned publicist, Oscar Straus, wrote Angell of this address: "I have read it with instructive interest. It gives one a great deal of food for thought—foreshadowing the extension of international rights along the lines of intervention growing out of the community of nations and the inter-community of interests. I value the paper most highly as a fine piece of international work."

to men who write about diplomats—or who do not but *should* write about them. This was presented in Chicago as his inaugural address as president of the American Historical Association. Finally, his paper read in April, 1900, to the “Œcumenical Council” at New York, entitled “Present Problems in the Relations of Missions to Governments,” while having a religious “slant” in view of the nature of Christian missions and the nature of the audience to whom it was delivered, is a straightforward announcement that missionaries have the same privileges in and the same duties to the governments of the countries in which they operate, as other foreigners in such countries on commercial business, no more and no less.

The religious addresses and his religious life itself will be treated in a later chapter.

The hundreds of talks he gave at alumni meetings all over the country were obviously ephemeral, but rarely otherwise than fascinating to the old students who gathered to listen to him. The simplicity of his diction, the unerring selection of matter of at least passing interest, and the utter absence of any oratorical flamboyance in the easy flow of his words gave him his astonishing hold on such audiences. He seemed to be talking to them as individual persons. His style on such occasions appeared to be as studied as in those more formal addresses he was called on to give at most of the greater universities of the land. His lifelong practice in speaking without a manuscript was responsible for the feeling of his hearers that they were listening to a finished, formal speech.

He gave scores of addresses on the invitation of other universities at their commencements, anniversary celebrations, memorial services, dedications of new facilities, and inaugurations of presidents. In the West he almost always dwelt on the unity of public education from the primary room to the halls of the university, and on the benefits accruing therefrom at all stages of the system. Enough has been said about this, in particular in the addresses on the Michigan campus in 1871, 1879, and 1887. But it was a gospel that he spread from Michigan south and west and east, season after season. He did not confine his emphasis on the unity of a state system of public education to college and university audiences. In 1903 the Michigan Superintendent of Public Instruction wrote him: “Will you permit me to say that I have the very highest appreciation of the splendid words you spoke for the cause of rural schools at the late meeting at Owosso? I am grateful beyond expression that you are becoming so thoroughly aroused as to the magnitude and importance of the rural school question. I wish you could impart some



of your enthusiasm to some of the forceful members of your faculties which would lead some of them to such a public expression of approval of the efforts we are making that much good would result."

It was his custom each year, on the Sunday evening preceding the Commencement Day exercises of Thursday, to give a baccalaureate address to the departing seniors. Most of these talks were distinctly religious in tone, and all were at least given a moral at their close. Such was the baccalaureate of June 17, 1900, when, animated by the changed conditions in which the country found itself as the result of the Spanish-American War, he entitled his address "The Widening Horizon."

On this occasion he outlined the country's new responsibilities: "Still further, the present situation is a prophecy that we shall not, and an assurance that we can not, go back to our old comparative seclusion. Should we endeavor at once to change our policy, should we immediately leave Cuba to herself and try to drop the Philippines, we must keep Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands, and we must continue to exert an influence hitherto unknown both in Cuba and the Philippines. Whatever disposition is made of China, we must have freedom of access to her trade, which we have never before enjoyed, and must directly or indirectly wield a great influence over her people in respect to commerce, to education and to religion. We indulge in no empty rhetoric or unmeaning figure of speech when we say that with or without the Isthmian canal we must be a great Pacific power. Japan, Corea and Polynesia must have closer and closer relations with us. Whatever land in Asia or America is washed by the waves of the Great Sea cannot be secluded from the commercial and naval Power which has fully five thousand miles of Pacific coast line without counting the shores of the Philippines and of our central outpost, Hawaii. The Central American and South American states must, by a tendency as irresistible as gravitation, be drawn more and more into the circle of our influence.

"As to our nearness to Europe, the Atlantic has ceased to be the *dissociabile mare*, but rather a bond between us. Americans throng the European universities, capitals, watering places, and scenes of historic interest. The volume of trade between the two continents is rapidly swelling. The intellectual life of Europe and that of America are one. Every new scientific or philosophical work, every history, poem or novel of any importance which is brought forth in Great Britain, France, Germany or Russia, is with almost no delay found in the hands of American readers. American books are by the score promptly republished in Europe. The interchange of thought is complete.

"However firmly we resolve to dwell apart politically from all entangling alliance, we are intellectually sitting at the fireside of the family of nations in friendly converse. The shuttles of thought are continually shooting forward and back across the sea, and weaving the web which binds us to all the great nations of Europe.

"Now what does this new situation, this ever widening horizon of America mean to those who like you go forth as American scholars to play your part on the stage for the next generation? It must mean something. You cannot escape your environment. You cannot go forth exactly as we did who graduated half a century ago. You have new calls and new duties. . . ."

He closed with: "I would appeal to you to allow your activity to be dominated by an unselfish spirit and your hopes for your own success to carry with them your desire for the good of all. Thus it is that you can do your part in making our national increase of strength and prosperity conduce to our national growth in purity and elevation of character. It is the character of the individuals that makes the character of the nation. . . . Cherish the lofty inspirations which come to you in these last hours of your university life. Recall them and be true to them in the days when you are tempted to descend to a lower moral plane than you now intend to stand on in life. Strive ever to keep up to the level of your best ideals.

"Thus as your years flow on, may you not only see the horizon of your country widening under all happy auspices, but may you rise to those moral and spiritual heights, where with God's blessing you can command an ever broadening horizon of personal and beneficent influence of your own character and life."

This address brought from Secretary of State John Hay on July 18: "I am sure I need not say what a comfort it is, in the confusion of tongues by which I am surrounded, to hear an occasional clear and authoritative voice like yours, which approves the work we are trying to do. I agree with you that 'worse remains behind,' but, so far as the international aspects of the affair are concerned, we have been extremely fortunate. Our circular of the 3d of July<sup>4</sup> has not received a single criticism or objection from any part of the world."

One of the more ambitious of the publications listed by F. N. Scott is the contribution by Angell in 1888 to Justin Winsor's *Critical and Narrative History of the United States*. This covers "The Diplomacy of

<sup>4</sup> A call for a restoration, after the Boxer uprising, of the principle of Chinese territorial and administrative integrity.



the United States" from 1789 to 1850, including all the treaties negotiated during that period. Obviously it cannot be summarized, beyond a paragraph which the author himself gives:

"A survey of American diplomatic history from 1789 to 1850 shows that the broad and liberal spirit of the negotiators of the Revolutionary period was shared by their successors. A firm assertion of the rights of neutrals and of the responsibility of belligerents to neutrals; the persistent denial of the so-called right of visit and search of neutral vessels in time of peace, and especially of the exercise of it for the purpose of impressing into foreign service the seamen on board such vessels; the recognition of humane usages in war; efforts to suppress the slave-trade; wise doctrines of contraband and of blockade; advocacy of the abolition of privateering, combined with the exemption of private property on sea from capture, and the declaration that the neutral flag should protect the cargo; generosity towards semi-civilized nations; patient and skilful pressure of demands for justice on strong powers that the United States were not in a condition to coerce; vigilant watching for opportunities to expand the national commerce; just views of the functions of prize tribunals; provisions for the extradition of criminals; a rational interpretation of the 'favored nation' clause; an American spirit which has striven to prevent European infringement on the autonomy of American States; a ready and sympathetic welcome to colonies and provinces which had fairly won their independence; timely plans of enlargement of the nation's territory;—all these characterize the diplomatic work of the three-score years we have been reviewing. The beneficent effect of that work has been shared by all nations. The policy of the American people has helped make the international law of the world more humane and just and benign."

These few and brief quotations from Angell's writings and public addresses should give some idea of the breadth of his interests and the simplicity and clarity of the style in which he expressed his views. It could be that the ease with which the reader or auditor followed his discourse caused some to believe that he did not plough very deep. A Yankee who listened to one of Daniel Webster's historic expositions of the United States Constitution is said to have commented, "He didn't say anything except what I have always thought." Critics of Angell's depth of thought might perhaps compare the respective residua left in their own minds after reading one of his elucidations and a production on the same subject by one of the more ponderous expositors. At least it cannot be gainsaid that his views were solicited, and when he expressed them he was listened to with respect by the best men of his own time.

# *Group Participations*

## CHAPTER XXXVII

*I*n the nineties there was initiated the first great movement toward international arbitration on a permanent basis. Especially in America men began to ask themselves why the principles that had found expression in the arbitration of the Alabama Claims and the Bering Sea controversy should not be extended to the point of becoming routine. Why should not nations, who make up the world community, settle their disputes by the same peaceful methods followed when individual citizens disagree with one another? Why international wars any more than private duels? And as of today: what a pity, indeed, that the forty years since the outbreak of World War I should have wrecked—at least temporarily—the promising beginnings made between 1896 and 1914!

Stimulated no doubt by the warlike atmosphere that enveloped the British-American relations during the Venezuelan boundary dispute, Americans held conferences in a dozen cities to forward the cause of peaceful adjudication of differences between the two great English-speaking peoples and by inference those between all peoples. This aversion to the very thought of war between such brothers of the blood found corresponding sympathy in England, and the belligerent words of President Cleveland and Secretary Olney in December, 1895, were met with a soft answer from Lord Salisbury in January, 1896. The Prime Minister, while not agreeing with Olney's statement as to the extent of the Monroe Doctrine, accepted the principle of arbitration. This was the last "war scare" ever to arise between the United States and Great Britain.

It was in this atmosphere that the meetings in the various cities culminated in the first National Conference on International Arbitration, which met in Washington on April 22 and 23, 1896, with a fairly definite purpose on the part of the leaders to confine discussions to a high court of arbitration between the two English-speaking countries. Angell had been consulted from the beginning by William E. Dodge,



the New York merchant and philanthropist, always interested in movements he regarded as of public benefit.

In February Dodge wrote him: "In England and America great questions are decided between states and colonies and corporations, by High Courts, and as the systems of evidence, laws and language are the same in the two countries, all wise and thoughtful men with whom we have consulted believe it to be practicable and the time ripe for it.

"An exceedingly influential Committee has been formed in London and it is believed Parliament would act immediately if the matter is favorably received by our Congress.

"The call for this Conference must come from a few gentlemen of acknowledged position and patriotism, who are outside of political ambition, and I write to ask whether you would favor such a project and whether you would be willing to have your name used in a call for such a meeting.

"If you think well of it will you not, confidentially, suggest to me the names of a few men in Michigan whom it would be proper to invite as delegates to Washington?

"Whatever is done must be done immediately, before the pressure of the Presidential campaign occupies the attention of the country." (Angell knew from experience the importance of Dodge's comment on the distracting effect of presidential campaigns.)

In his speech on the first day of the Conference Angell said in part: "It is a sad commentary on our Christian civilization that, nineteen centuries after the coming of the Prince of Peace, nations so often resort to the methods of brutes and savages, rather than to the methods of rational beings and brethren, for the settlement of disputes. When a savage has a difference with his fellow, he kills him in order to settle the difference. In the year of grace, 1870, when the King of Prussia refused to give a pledge that the Prince of Hohenzollern should not become a candidate for the throne of Spain, Napoleon III let loose the dogs of war, and France was deluged with the blood of scores of thousands of innocent men, because of this petty quarrel between two sovereigns. Will such madness and cruelty never cease? There is hardly a foot of the soil of Europe which is not soaked deep with the blood of victims of princely feuds. Their spirits cry from heaven to this generation, which calls itself enlightened, to put a stop to needless butchery.

"We have gathered here to consider what can be done by this nation to secure the peaceful and righteous settlement of controversies between us and Great Britain, if not between all nations.

"As every one knows, adjustment of national differences by arbitration is no new thing. It is at least as old as Greece. It has been resorted to by the states of nearly every confederation—Greek, Dutch, Swiss, German, American. One of the most valuable services the papacy has rendered to the world was in the discharge of the duties of arbiter between the crusading nations. The Pope's work really anticipated that which, in our dreams of brotherhood, we assign to a Congress or High Court of Nations. Even in a boisterous age he made the world familiar with the idea of a peaceful solution of national problems of controversy. . . .

"Possibly we are more in danger of drifting into war on slight occasion than we were forty years ago. No doubt we have brought out of our civil war a new consciousness of military strength, which has its dangers and temptations. The traditions of military glory won by noble men, many of whom we meet on the streets every day, are fresh and vivid. They tend to excite the martial ambition of the young, who burn for the laurels which deck their fathers' brows. A stinging word hurled at us by the British premier in the heat of discussion, like a ringing challenge flushes our cheeks and looses our tongues. Would it have been hard for indiscreet men at the head of the two governments, ours and the British, to have involved us in war, in the first week after the message on Venezuela? One of the great advantages of a prearranged resort to arbitration is that time must needs be gained for reflection. In such a crisis as we have just passed through, both nations would be debarred from acting under the first impulse of passion.

"Some oppose a stipulation to resort to arbitration, because there are certain subjects on which a nation cannot arbitrate. Such, by common consent, is its independence. And such, I would say, is, under the guise of a boundary question, any serious inroad on the integrity of its territory. Such are deliberate national insults, charges impeaching the honor or veracity of a government. We all agree that these subjects cannot be submitted to arbitration. But the fit subjects of arbitration are numerous. Illustrations are: The interpretation of ambiguous language in a treaty, the mode of executing a treaty, claims for damages of nations or subjects, boundary controversies not seriously involving the integrity of territory.

"Again, permanent arbitration is opposed on the ground that it cannot be enforced. As between two nations, there is the same means of enforcing it as there is of enforcing a treaty. The honor of nations has thus far sufficed to enforce all arbitral decisions with which we have been concerned, save one which both parties properly rejected. It is doubtful if, in any controversy between us and Great Britain, a decision more trying



to her than that in the Alabama cases will ever occur, or one more distasteful to us, let us hope, than that of the Halifax Commission.<sup>1</sup> We may feel a reasonable assurance that the finding of any court properly constituted will always be respected by these two nations.

"Whenever any of us advocate arbitration we are criticised by some as dreamers who suppose that the passions of men are to be subdued by legislation, and that warring and armed strifes are about to end. But I suppose none of us here cherishes any such delusions. We believe that arbitration will diminish the number of wars. But for the present every nation must maintain some military protection. We would fain hope that arbitral provisions in treaties will make it easier for the great powers of Europe to lighten the dreadful burden which the support of great standing armies and great navies lays on those nations. As for ourselves, our army is now hardly large enough for the police power which it is liable to be called on to exercise, and our navy is none too large to furnish the needed protection to our interests in the various lands where our countrymen are found. They should not be reduced in strength.

"Let us stand before the world, prepared to defend ourselves, if need be, with our good right arms, as becomes those who believe that there are calamities more dreadful to a nation than war. But let us make no claims on other nations which are not just claims. Let us show our confidence in the justice of them by our willingness to submit to a properly constituted tribunal all such questions as we and they agree to be proper for submission, provided that in no case shall the question involve our independence or the substantial integrity of our territory."<sup>2</sup>

The Conference adopted resolutions submitted by Angell and in accordance with a provision therein appointed a committee to present the subject to President Cleveland. The committee consisted of former Senator George Edmunds, chairman, James B. Angell, Gardiner G. Hubbard, J. L. M. Curry, and Henry Hitchcock. Edmunds turned over the drafting of the memorial to Angell, saying in his letter, "I am quite willing to risk your work." Edmunds and Angell supposed that the com-

<sup>1</sup> Angell may have had in mind the decision of the King of the Netherlands in 1831 on the northwestern boundary dispute between the United States and Great Britain, though he mentions specifically only the judgment reached by a commission meeting at Halifax in respect to the Canadian fisheries. This judgment, rendered in 1877, awarded Great Britain \$5,500,000 for the use of the fishing privileges for the twelve years past. "The money," says *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History*, "was appropriated by Congress, but the old treaty under which the award was made was terminated by the United States" as promptly as possible.

<sup>2</sup> This address to the conference was published in pamphlet form by the Hamilton Club of Chicago.

munication to the President would contain the outline of a plan for the organization of a high court to implement the proposed treaty. John Bassett Moore, of Columbia, who had sat in the conference, made a number of suggestions to this end, and Angell at first included such an outline. But when it appeared that some influential members of the conference opposed this idea as not only unwise at that stage but unauthorized, this portion of the paper was eliminated. As finally signed by the committee and transmitted to the President, the memorial was as follows:

“To the President,

Sir:

“At a meeting of the National Conference of American citizens, held at Washington April 22nd and 23rd, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to present to you a Memorial embodying the Preamble and Resolutions adopted by that body. In the discharge of that duty, they respectfully beg leave to lay before you the following statement.

“It is well known to you that for several years the opinion has been rapidly gaining strength, both in Europe and in America, that nations should endeavor to settle their differences with each other, when diplomacy could not adjust them, by some mode of arbitration. The sentiment in favor of the arbitral settlement of controversies has perhaps expressed itself most forcibly in Great Britain and the United States. These two nations have settled several questions of the highest importance by that means. Your own words have strongly commended that mode of settlement, and have done much to win for it favorable consideration.

“It is not surprising therefore that of late many eminent men in both these countries have been carefully considering the question whether some permanent arrangement cannot be made by the governments of Great Britain and the United States for the peaceful settlement of international controversies between themselves. In this country, the interest in the subject has recently seemed so deep that a few weeks ago an invitation was issued by a number of citizens to a few representative men of all the States and Territories of the Union to hold a Conference in Washington on April 22nd and 23rd, and determine what action could wisely be taken to formulate international arbitration, especially between Great Britain and the United States. In response to the call, a most ardent and wide-spread interest was excited and a large assembly of prominent men from forty States came together and considered the desirableness and practicability of the arbitral settlement of interna-



tional difficulties. After a free interchange of views, the Conference unanimously adopted the following Preamble and Resolutions, and appointed the undersigned a Committee to present them to you.

"This national conference of American citizens, assembled at Washington, April 22, 1896, to promote international arbitration, profoundly convinced that experience has shown that war, as a method of determining disputes between nations, is oppressive in its operation, uncertain and unequal in its results, and productive of immense evils, and

"That the spirit and humanity of the age, as well as the precepts of religion, require the adoption of every practicable means for the establishment of reason and justice between nations;

"And considering that the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain, bound together by the ties of a common language and literature, of like political and legal institutions, and of many mutual interests, and animated by a spirit of devotion to law and justice, have on many occasions, by recourse to peaceful and friendly arbitration, manifested their just desire to substitute reason for force in the settlement of their differences, and to establish a reign of peace among nations;

"That the common sense and enlightened public opinion of both nations is utterly averse to any further war between them; and

"That the same good sense, reinforced by common principles of humanity, religion and justice, requires the adoption of a permanent method for the peaceful adjustment of international controversies, which method shall not only provide for the uniform application of principles of law and justice in the settlement of their own differences, but shall also, by its example and its results, promote the peace and progress of all peoples, does hereby adopt the following resolutions:

"First. That in the judgment of this conference, religion, humanity and justice, as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration, and the earliest possible extension of the system so as to embrace the whole civilized world.

"Second. That it is earnestly recommended to our government, so soon as it is assured of a corresponding disposition on the part of the British government, to negotiate a treaty providing for the widest practicable application of the methods of arbitration to international controversies.

"Third. That a committee of this conference be appointed to prepare and present to the President of the United States a memorial respectfully urging the taking of such steps on the part of the United States as will best conduce to the end in view.

"It will be observed by you that the Conference confined itself in its formal action, to expressing its strong conviction of the need of the immediate establishment of a permanent system of arbitration between us and Great Britain, and the earliest possible extension of the system to other nations, and to recommending the negotiation of a treaty providing for arbitral settlements between us and Great Britain whenever Great Britain is ready to join us in such negotiation.

"The Committee has not ventured, as the organ of the Conference, to present you any suggestions in respect of the various methods that might be employed in forming a permanent tribunal of arbitration. But your Committee are persuaded that the two governments earnestly seeking to construct some plan for a court, will find some satisfactory means of establishing it.

"The Committee and the whole Conference were also persuaded that if Great Britain and the United States should demonstrate in practice the usefulness of a permanent system of arbitration for themselves, other nations might, and in time would, be inclined to follow their example. Therefore expression was given in the first resolution to the desire for the general adoption of the method of arbitration by all civilized nations.

"We submit this memorial to you in the full assurance of your sympathy with the views above expressed, and in the confident hope that you will soon find the way open for some such arrangement with Great Britain at least, if not with other nations, as the Conference, and, we think, the American and the English people, profoundly desire.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servants."

Ultimately, the Venezuelan dispute was arbitrated. Moreover, a general arbitration treaty with Great Britain was signed, and, though it was never ratified (Angell had had experience with failure to ratify treaties), the experience contributed to good relations between Great Britain and the United States. The address of the Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Russell of Killowen, before the American Bar Association, at Saratoga on August 20, 1896, was a powerful influence from Great Britain toward the substitution of international courts for the savagery of war.

Eight years later, in 1904, the Executive Committee of the American Conference on International Arbitration, of which Angell was a member, sent out an appeal to the people of the country to support the treaties providing for arbitration when disputes shall arise between the United



States and other powers, including France, Germany, Great Britain, and Mexico. The President was then about to send these treaties to the Senate. In 1905 Angell was made a member of a national committee to interest college students in the cause of international arbitration; the other members were presidents of leading universities.

In a minor area it may be noted that in 1902 Angell acted as sole arbitrator of a dispute between the Detroit street railways and the employees. His award was peacefully accepted.

Other fields in which he served in association with fellow citizens included the long drawn-out effort to found a "University of the United States" under national auspices. While this came near success once or twice, there were too many arguments against it and too many suspicions about situations that might result for the movement ever to come to fruition.

He was active in the early efforts which were the forerunners of the establishment many years later of the National Archives.

Other interests that had his attention are illustrated by a partial list of the organizations and associations in which he participated:

National Council of Education

Intercollegiate Association of the North Central States. First President

Association of American Universities. President, 1909

International Congress of History. Invited to membership, 1900

American Academy at Rome. One of the incorporators, 1905

American Historical Association. President, 1893-1894

American Social Science Association. President 1896-1897

American Academy of Political and Social Science

Rhode Island Historical Society. Honorary Member

American Antiquarian Society

Massachusetts Historical Society. Corresponding Member

Immigration Committee of National Civic Federation

American Philosophical Society

American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Delegate to National Conference on Conservation of Natural Resources, 1908

Regent of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington for about twenty-five years

Adviser to the Cecil Rhodes Trustees and chairman of the first Board to select candidates from Michigan

Many committees and official positions in church and missionary organizations, local and national.

# Religion

## *As He Lived It*

### CHAPTER XXXVIII

*N*o one could have read thus far in this book, as no one could have known President Angell in life, without sensing that in him the relationship of man to God was a deep and abiding influence. There is no evidence, either on paper or in recollection, of his having any active interest in theology in a professional sense. There is overwhelming evidence of both sorts, of his firm belief in Christianity as a pattern of successful life. His references to Jesus Christ were more frequently as "the Master." He believed that the Master could be most appropriately served by abiding faith in God, obedience to His known bidding, and communion with Him, as the mainspring of a cheerful, daily observance of the command, "Feed my lambs." There was nothing—nothing—in his religious life that ever depressed him or others.<sup>1</sup> His thought of God was that of a loving father, like Andrew A. Angell, from whom severity except as a final, almost unthinkable resort was the last thing to be expected—a Father who was most rejoiced by the happiness of his chil-

<sup>1</sup> In his opening address to the Students' Christian Association, October 4, 1896, he said: "[Young people] are tempted to believe, for some reason, that the Christian life is a narrower life than a life that is not Christian; that the followers of Christ are in some way carrying a load which weighs upon them, represses the exuberance of youthful days, and perhaps robs young manhood and young womanhood of its most joyous emotions. They imagine sometimes that the Christian must be bound hand and foot with the gyves of a creed which oppresses him; that he wears a sort of strait-jacket which constrains intellectual and moral freedom; that the Christian is confined between fences beyond which others may roam with freedom. I wish to say that I think that that is a wholly erroneous conception of the Christian life. The very highest authority on the subject must be the founder of Christianity itself, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and I think that nowhere in His teachings can you find any warrant for this conception. The Gospel is good news, not bad news, glad tidings, not bad tidings."



dren and by justness and kindness in the relationship of these children one with another.

Among the Angell papers is one of those rarities that he marked "private." It is headed "History of my Religious Experience." It covers seven closely written pages and bears a date one week before he became twenty-one years of age. Written at that period of his life and in the religious atmosphere of a time when "profession" was regarded as so large a part of a Christian's life, it contains many words and phrases that in later years he must have smiled over, if he recalled them. He endorses his statement, "The substance of the above was presented to the Richmond Street Congregational Church, December 10, 1849, though now for the first time written." His picture of the religious atmosphere of his boyhood is worth recording, since it must have entered into the tolerance of the opinions and practices of others that distinguished him, along with the tenacity with which he quietly followed his own reasoned convictions.

"Till I was twelve years of age, I remained in my native village, where my circumstances were little calculated to impress me with the necessity of changing my manner of life, or even to inspire me with a deep respect for religion itself, or with profound reverence for God. Public religious services were rarely known and were often conducted by men whose ignorance made them appear ridiculous, and sometimes by those whose characters were open to the charge of gross immorality. If some kind hand occasionally established a Sabbath School, it soon languished and died for the want of earnest and competent teachers, who could furnish lucid and interesting illustrations of the truths of the gospel. The Sabbath was the day for almost universal recreation. None of my family were professors of religion. My father, a man of rigid integrity, always professed an honest respect for what he conceived to be consistent piety, though the lives of too many in the vicinity were but poorly calculated to exalt religion in the esteem of any who were at all inclined to judge of its true character by what are unjustly regarded as its fruits. My mother was the child of pious parents, and the instructions which she had received in youth she transmitted to me with an earnestness and an interest, to which I could not be entirely insensible. Possessed of singularly clear views of the truths of Christianity, and of an earnest thoughtfulness which often carried her to the very verge of professing her faith in those truths, it may well be supposed that she often impressed them on my mind with all the solicitude which a mother can feel for a child and with all the pathetic earnestness which the tenderness of a mother's love can



lend to those words, which she knows may affect the eternal destiny of her son. Often did she express it as her fixed purpose to prepare herself for the untried future before her time of probation should be closed, and her earnest desire that the whole family would strive to meet around the throne of our Heavenly Father, there, as here, undivided. Her words were never effaced from my memory, but they did not carry me beyond the point to which she herself had attained."

There were certain practices that he followed throughout his life as helpful to the pattern he had set for his own observance. The Angell pew in the Congregational Church of Ann Arbor, now marked by a small bronze plate, was never without its occupant except when illness or absence from home prevented, and the reader has doubtless noticed that when away from home on Sundays he "attended services" where he found them. He was not ordinarily absent when the church met for business or for worship at other times than on Sunday.<sup>2</sup> He was a good and ready counselor on all projects for which the congregation sought wisdom, though as he grew older he seemed to feel that the younger members should settle such matters without advice from him unless specifically sought. In spite of his early days in the free and easy Sabbaths of Rhode Island,<sup>3</sup> we have seen that in the China mission he attended a negotiation on Sunday with extreme reluctance. In 1908 he wrote to Mrs. McLaughlin, "Rather to my regret 'The Servant in the House' was given today at the Majestic [Theater]—no admission fees were asked. Three ministers including ours favored it. I opposed—on the ground that it opens the way to Sunday theaters here. Of course I did not go."

His views on immortality, as is the case with most men, had to be sensed, rather than derived from what he formally said or wrote. Reference has been made to his remark in his last years that his thoughts were with the companions of his youth—Hazard, Diman, Murray, his wife—and later his grandchildren, and others whom he had loved and lost, and his matter-of-fact anticipations of reunion with them.<sup>4</sup> He preserved

<sup>2</sup> His granddaughter, Mrs. Constance McLaughlin Green, of Washington, D.C., writes: "I remember particularly a rebuke gently administered to me in 1912 at Charlevoix. Mother had ordered a buggy to take Gramp to church. Impressed at this extravagance, I asked him on his return if he had 'enjoyed the sermon.' He answered, 'Yes. But you don't go to church to hear a sermon. You go to worship. I'd like to plant that seed in your mind.'"

<sup>3</sup> *Reminiscences*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pasteur's address at graduation exercises of the College of Arbois in 1874: "The man of faith . . . believes in a super-natural revelation. If you tell me that this is incompatible with human reason I shall agree with you, but it is still more impossible to believe that reason has the power to deal with the problems of origins



a letter from Dr. Keen, written in 1912, in which, after referring to his own little volume, *Everlasting Life*, and its favorable reception, the old surgeon wrote: "Your own speculations as to the future life I sympathize with entirely. With you I wonder that no further light has been thrown upon it, but I am glad to believe that whatever it will be, it will be supremely satisfactory. . . . 'I shall be *satisfied* when I awake in Thy likeness.' "

The Students' Christian Association—oldest in any American university—was always a favorite of his. Annually for many years he gave its opening address. In 1881, he wrote to its members collectively from Peking expressing not only his friendship but some practical ideas of the missionary work for which some of them were preparing:

"My dear Friends.

"I believe that no Sunday passes in which I do not think of your pleasant morning meeting. I have been rejoiced to hear that the year is going so prosperously with you. I have often thought I would take the liberty of writing you and now a request I have rec'd from Mr. Johnson encourages me to execute my purpose. His intimation that some word from me on the subject of missions might not be uninteresting to you prompts me to offer the results of my observation here in China upon one point, namely, upon the belief more or less prevalent in the churches and among Christian students that large talent and eminent scholarship are superfluous in the work of Foreign Missions, that the foreign field does not furnish scope for distinguished ability & attainments. Some men who would have the foreign work carried on, really think, if they do not say, that any man of earnest & devout spirit will do well enough for that work, while the most gifted preachers & teachers should be retained at home. And I fear that the most gifted young preachers themselves sometimes cherish that opinion sufficiently to interfere somewhat with an impartial decision between the claims of the home and the foreign field.

"Mark, I am not about to attempt to lay down the principles which should guide one in deciding in what part of the Master's vineyard one should labor, whether as preacher or teacher. But I wish to make it clear

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and ends. Furthermore, reason is not all . . . ; the eternal strength of the man of faith lies in the fact that the teachings of his creed are in harmony with the callings of the heart . . . . Who, by the death bed of a beloved one, does not hear an inner voice assuring him that the soul is immortal? To say with the materialist 'Death is the end of all' is to insult the human heart." From *Louis Pasteur, Free Lance of Science*, by Rene J. Dubos (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1950), p. 391.

that in China at least the missionary work furnishes the amplest scope for the most thoroughly trained & most gifted minds.

“In a most emphatic sense it may be affirmed that public opinion here is made and this Empire is governed by scholars. With rare exceptions men cannot attain official positions of even moderately high grade unless they have evinced their scholarship in public examinations. Many thousands who have passed such examinations are ever waiting for vacancies in the public offices. They form a large body of what are called the literate and the gentry. Many of them are teachers. The great mass of uneducated men literally count for nothing in shaping public opinion upon any subject except in moving against the tyranny of some provincial officer. But China can never be called in any just sense Christian until a fair proportion of these scholars espouse Christianity.

“Now in learning these scholars have a great pride, in admiration of their own classics and of their proficiency in them an almost Pharisaic pride. Their classics furnish for them their instruction in religion, philosophy, morals, and practical life. From childhood they learn them by heart. It is in the style of the classics that they must write. The finest essay is that which most artfully dovetails together fine sentences & phrases, from these venerable books. Though the well established reputation of a foreigner for western scholarship may find a certain recognition among them, yet they regard the Chinese classical learning as so far superior to all other learning that whatever other attainments a foreigner has he must be familiar with the Chinese classics to command from them any marked respect for scholarship or to exert much influence in modifying their religious opinions. Moreover they are so careful in respect to style in expression, they have been trained to so nice a linguistic sense that a large command of the language is essential to the exercise of any considerable power over them. I am assured that the early translations of some portions of the Scripture are ridiculed by them for their faulty style.

“Now remember that to preach effectively to such men or to discuss with them or to comprehend & use their classics one needs to master as far as possible this most difficult of languages. It is no exaggeration to say that the complete mastery of this language is the work of a lifetime. The most accomplished missionary or civil officer of foreign birth is obliged to keep his Chinese teacher by his side to the very last. Men who have been here forty years diligently studying & constantly using the language do this. Then one needs to saturate himself with the very spirit of the Chinese classics & to be able to quote them freely and to grasp the Chinese philosophy & theology, which are very subtle.



"I think it must be obvious that the very best mind will find here a task quite sufficient for his best powers, and that no man need fear that he can bring more talent to this work than is necessary. The Jesuits two hundred years ago acted with wisdom in sending their picked men here and some of them became advisers of Emperors and did reach & convert men of the literary class, including some of the highest officials in the Empire.

"I would not be understood as intimating that there are not now men of high talent & acquirements in the missionary service here, nor that men of merely fair intellectual gifts may not do good work here nor that the conversion of the ignorant Chinese from which class most of the converts are now obtained is not of great importance. But one longs to see larger conquests of the class which really makes China, which governs it, which controls its ideas and its policy. We do not presume to limit the power of the Holy Spirit to touch these. But reasoning in the usual way concerning the human instrumentalities needed to reach and move them, I think it may now be clear to you that the most vigorous & gifted mind will find full scope for all his powers in bringing the scholars of China to the cross of Christ.

"I shall rejoice beyond measure at the coming of the day when I can again meet with you and talk with you of these and kindred themes dear to us all. Meantime with my best wishes & my prayers for you all both individually & as an Association, I am

Yours very truly"

This interest in missions, fully shared by his wife, was ever present with him in China, Turkey, and America. The knowledge of its animating force in his life was responsible for the enthusiasm with which his appointments to the two foreign lands were greeted by the missionary societies in America and the missionaries already in one of the two countries, and also, doubtless, for considerable scheming by the missionary interests to bring about these or other similar appointments. Throughout April and May of 1895, much pressure was brought to bear on him by organizations to secure, if they could, a promise to go to Japan if an appointment should be offered. He would not consent.

In the long line of the baccalaureate addresses with which he initiated the week of Commencement will, perhaps, be found the most illuminating view of what religion meant to him. Something was lost out of the University life when the baccalaureate addresses ceased to be a part of Commencement week, a period of deepest susceptibility to such suggestions as these addresses presented. Recollection of his own first

months following his graduation from Brown as the period of greatest depression in his entire life roused even more than normal sympathy with these boys and girls. The titles of some of the addresses will give an idea of what he talked about to the young people who, within the week, were going away from the campus and into the world:

- The Heroic Spirit in Life. 1890
- The Problem of Equipoise in Life. 1895
- Patriotism and International Brotherhood. 1896
- Ambitions and Ideals. 1897
- The Debt of the University Graduate. 1899
- The Widening Horizon. 1900
- Environment and Selfhood. 1901
- The New Era in Higher Education. 1902
- Lessons Suggested by Christ's Life to the Scholar.<sup>5</sup> 1903
- Knowledge and Wisdom. 1904
- The Old and the New Ideal of Scholars. 1905
- Honesty. 1906
- The Significance of Graduation. 1907
- The Age of the Quickened Conscience. 1908
- The State and the Student. 1909

The final postscript to Angell's baccalaureates came in 1913, when he appended the remarks quoted on page 314 to the address given by President Hutchins.

As it is the purpose in the present chapter to present Angell in the field of what men commonly call "religion," quotations or summaries of the thoughts he presented in his series of baccalaureates would largely be in his concluding applications of these thoughts to life as the graduates might expect to find it. With the changing views of the times, however, the entire body of the addresses of 1902, 1903, and 1905, in particular, must be considered.

In 1902, under the heading "The New Era in Higher Education," wherein he emphasized the new importance of research, he observed:

"It is to be hoped that in pushing out however far the boundaries of knowledge, we shall never lose sight of our relations to the Supreme In-

<sup>5</sup> With respect to this address, Professor R. M. Wenley wrote from Glasgow: "I have wanted to tell you how much I have enjoyed your *Lessons Suggested by Christ's Life to the Scholar*. They have and are much good. I have been especially refreshed by the original treatment & application of His example under great temptations; and by the succeeding paragraphs. I hope your noble words may bear fruit in my own future. Many, many thanks. I am putting the pamphlet among the few I keep."



telligence. To trace His footsteps, to understand the work of His hand, to discover His methods in the creation and development of all things, is the aim of all sincere and honest seekers after Truth. When we find these, we find Truth. With open and honest mind, with loving and reverent spirit, we should search for the revelation of His laws of procedure in our study of nature and of history. Back of all life, beyond the ken of microscope or telescope, beyond the reach of the chemist's analysis or the biologist's search, all are compelled to admit that there lies a great Power, which in its Personality no eye hath seen neither can see, which hath wrought from the beginning, and which Jesus Christ hath taught us to call 'Our Father. . . .'

"As life draws on to its close, our greatest achievements seem poor and small. The dying words of Cecil Rhodes express the feelings of every earnest man: 'So little done, so much remains to do.' Our chiefest satisfaction in reviewing our days is found in the acts which we have done most completely in the spirit of Him who came on earth not to be ministered unto but to minister to others. And so my parting wish and prayer for you is that His spirit may abide richly in your hearts and fashion your lives in the image of His life."

In "The Old and the New Ideal of Scholars" he began: "In my college days we were incited to make the largest possible acquisitions of what had been learned and thought by great scholars and to attain the culture which such achievement brought us. In these days the ultimate end which the student is exhorted to seek over and above and beyond those acquisitions is the power and the passion for discovering new truth. Learning and culture were the rewards for which we then strove. In addition to them the scholar is now exhorted and stimulated to test his gifts for investigation and research in some department of thought. No ambitious young teacher in our colleges now fails to make a strenuous effort to enlarge, if possible, the boundaries of knowledge in the domain of learning which he is called to cultivate. . . . One of the obvious consequences of this difference between the graduate of former days and the graduate of to-day is that the former was inclined to accept with more docility the opinions which had been taught to him, while the latter is apt to have more independence of view and often more originality. The former is more disposed to accept the authority of tradition, the latter to question every belief which asks for his assent until it is proved to be sound."

He concluded by citing, as an example of what a modern scholar should be, the lately deceased Albert B. Prescott: "Dr. Prescott, the

Senior Professor in this University, was an ideal illustration of the Christian scientific scholar. No child was more modest and humble in his own estimate of his worth. No saint was more firm in his loyalty to his Lord and Master. No scientist was more ardent in research after new scientific truth. No disciple was more convinced that his research was sacred work, and that every discovery that he made of chemical facts or chemical laws was a revelation of the Divine mode of operation. But antecedent to all research no student was more assiduous in learning all that the wisdom of other investigators had to communicate to him as the groundwork for his own quest. Nor was his respect for learning narrow and confined to his own branch of work. In all our University legislation, in shaping which his opinion justly carried great weight, he held the most catholic views about the equal importance of the various branches of study. Long will his influence abide with us. The memory of his many years of conspicuous service and still more of his pure and beautiful character will remain as one of our most precious treasures. May it inspire each one of us to combine in due proportion as he did the old and the new, the culture and research, the most genuine scientific spirit with the sincerest piety, devotion to God and love for his fellow-man."

In "Lessons Suggested by Christ's Life to the Scholar," he proceeds down a list of propositions, and applies them to the lives of those students who would have wisdom in addition to learning.

"I. Do we not find in his long and patient preparation for his work a most worthy example for us? So quiet and obscure were the first thirty years of his life that with the exception of the record of the events accompanying his birth and the visit to Jerusalem when he was a boy of twelve years of age, we know really nothing of the details of his history. We are simply told that 'he increased in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man.' . . . [Why disregard the time element in the development of real culture?] . . . To succeed in devouring three meals at once is not necessarily to add vigor to the system. . . . Knowledge should, like food, be taken in such quantities and at such a rate as will permit us to appropriate it, to digest it, to assimilate it, to make it part of ourselves.

"II. The untiring industry with which our Lord filled up his life furnishes that shining example of work which every scholar should follow. . . . 'Nothing will stand up against days' works. . . .'

"III. I think that it is not a presumptuous exegesis which finds in Christ's resistance to the three great temptations an example for us to withstand those alluring, but unworthy ambitions which beset the



scholar, and which tempt him to cherish some aim lower than the one true Christian aim in life.

"IV. We may learn from our Lord that the quest after truth, after all truth, is justified and encouraged by him. To be sure, it was moral and religious truth, which formed the burden of his message. But when in his farewell prayer he asks the Father to sanctify his disciples through the truth, and declares 'Thy word is truth,' we may well believe that every expression by God of himself whether through speech or through nature may be and should be made the means of the upbuilding of man, and of the reverent recognition of the divine wisdom and goodness.

"V. I would suggest for consideration the question whether the brevity of Christ's period of active labor and his early death do not warn us against appraising the value of a life by the years of its continuance. . . . Who would think of comparing for its blessed influence the career of any centenarian with the brief span of our Savior's life of activity on earth. . . . Fidelity to duty, be our days many or few, is what gives value to life.

"The laborer in the vineyard, who wrought but an hour, was crowned with the same reward as he who wrought many hours, because he wrought with the same devotion to duty.

"VI. In the prayerfulness of our Lord we find a most worthy example for the scholar. If there was a being on earth who it would seem could afford to dispense with prayer, whose unaided resources would suffice for any exigency, that being was Jesus Christ. But his life was pre-eminently a life of prayer. . . .

"And surely, if prayer is helpful to any man, it should be to him, who is seeking to learn and to expound the truth. . . . We may in these days well inscribe in our liturgies that wonderful 'Scholar's Prayer' by Lord Bacon, in which he asks 'That human things may not prejudice such as are divine; neither that from the unlocking of the gates of sense and the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulity or intellectual night may arise in our minds toward the Divine Mysteries. But rather that by our mind thoroughly cleansed and purged from fancy and vanities, and yet subject and perfectly given up to the Divine Oracles, there may be given unto Faith the things that are Faith's.'

"It is certainly in keeping with the most profound psychology that the mind of him who is in most loving and harmonious communion with the Author of all Truth should be in the most promising condition to discover and recognize intellectual as well as moral truth. If the New Testament teaches anything of prayer, it teaches that it places us in



exactly that relation to God, which opens our whole nature to the inflowing of his spirit and floods us with so much of his divine light as our limited capacities can receive.

“VII. The example of Christ teaches the scholar to pursue the truth and proclaim it in the firmest faith in its power and final victory. . . .

“Every one of you will be called to take part in some battle for righteousness. Your foes will often be many and powerful. Sophistry, corruption and power may be arrayed against you. Faintness of heart for your cause may seize you. But the great example before you should save you from despair and nerve you for the contest. Remember the adage that ‘One with God is a majority.’ It is the men who have faith in the Truth who win victories for the Truth. It is the men who believe something with all their heart, who achieve. Their seeming defeats prove in the end to be triumphs. No life sacrificed for righteousness and humanity is a failure at last.

“VIII. We have been considering Christ as an example to the scholar. But after all in every true scholar, the manhood is more than the scholarship. The traits that we have in common with our fellow-men are more than those that distinguish us from them. And the appeal of Christ to our manhood is the strongest and most comprehensive which his life makes to us. It calls on the scholar as a man to dedicate all his powers and attainments to the good of his fellows. In these days of unprecedented material prosperity, when the passion for riches seems to be invading the quiet homes of scholars as of all other classes, we need to lift our eyes to the high and unselfish ideals which our Savior has set before us. We need to ask ourselves, each of us, what can I do that is best for mankind with my life? Most of you may expect to be called to tasks of some importance. Do them with a noble and magnanimous spirit.”

He concluded: “My young friends of the graduating classes, I appeal to you all: do not make the mistake of supposing that your University training exempts you in the slightest degree from bearing the great civic and social burdens which all men are called to lift in securing the upbuilding of society. Do not with pharisaic pride stand aloof from your fellows. Join hands with your neighbors and throw yourselves into whatever worthy service Providence offers you the opportunity to render. You will find yourselves surrounded by many plain people who have not had a college education, but who have drawn from their varied experiences a kind of wisdom which you have not obtained. Recognize and appreciate that wisdom, and seek to attain to it as rapidly as your intercourse with the world makes it possible. Mingle freely as learners with men around



you. Some of you will soon perceive that there are many useful things, you may be surprised to see how many, not taught or learned in any University. But add to all that you may learn from whatever source the great lesson taught by our Lord's teaching and example, namely, that it is the humble, devoted, self-denying life that is crowned with the richest fruitage and the most blessed reward."

Among the Angell papers there is a single sheet without identifying mark as to time or place of its use, if it were ever used, or whether he or someone else originated it, but in the words written on it are embodied not only the burden of his baccalaureate advice and counsel to departing students, but the principles he lived by through the eighty-seven years of his life:

"Whatever your calling, wherever your abode, the one perfect ideal for you is found in our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ. The amazing thing in his character is that though he was a humble Jew born and reared in a small village of Palestine, his example fits every human being, in every age, in every nation. The highest moral attainment we can make is found in coming nearest to him and partaking of his spirit in the fullest degree. The solution of the hardest problems in our relations to God and to our fellow men is reached in following after him."

# *The Trail*

## *He Left Behind Him*

### CHAPTER XXXIX

*J*ames B. Angell believed that the life of a true and influential teacher is only in part lived in his classroom where he considers with his students the subject matter of some field of literature, science, art, or a profession. Modern schools of education no doubt can and do make teachers, but they make much better ones if their raw material comes to them with an inborn, well-nigh controlling belief that to be a teacher is a privilege, in that it offers opportunities for a breadth of human relationships not to be found elsewhere, and at a time when life is most impressionable. For the entire period of his presidency of Michigan Angell gave instruction for two hours a week in International Law and the History of American Treaties. It has been seen that during his Vermont incumbency he personally taught classes in rhetoric, history, and German as well as in international law, and that about the time of his graduation from Brown he so enjoyed his instruction of the half-blind fellow student that in his enthusiasm he well-nigh ruined his throat. All this was in harmony with his statement in his *Reminiscences*, "*I have always been fond of teaching* [italics ours] and have thought it was well for the President of a College or University to teach."<sup>1</sup> It was a mark of wider-visioned men and women at Michigan to "take Prexy's course," and there are many lecture notebooks of these courses preserved among the papers of aging graduates, to say nothing of those that have been destroyed by heirs with no memories or sentiments to give value to the old paper.

In a symposium on the choice of a calling, made up of contributions

<sup>1</sup> Alexander G. Ruthven shared this view, and for some time after becoming President of Michigan carried classwork in the Museum of Zoology. Ultimately, he had to give up this, for him, recreational activity.



by various college presidents, in the *Saturday Evening Post* of May 26, 1900, Angell wrote: "One old question is ever new to each member of a graduating class in the last hours of his college course: 'What pursuit shall I follow in life?' The aim of this paper is to give a few suggestions which may help one in finding the answer.

"Some persons are by their very make and temperament so pre-eminently fitted for one pursuit that it never occurs to them, or to any one else, that there is any room for hesitation in deciding what shall be their calling. It is a great fortune to a man to be so constituted that he falls to his work in life as naturally and as easily as the young bird takes to her wings. For all his energies, his studies, his experiences work toward the real end of his life.

"What we call the providential circumstances of some men determine their calling so plainly that there can be no doubt about the matter. A son, for instance, is left with the care of a large patrimony, which he can best administer. His duty to mother, brothers and sisters may be paramount to all other duties. Illustrations need not be multiplied.

"These cases are simple. The really difficult case remains for consideration. It is that of the man who has apparently equal aptitude for different pursuits, say for law, for teaching and for journalism and is shut up to no one of them to the exclusion of the others. Some men are so versatile that they could do any one of two or three things equally well.

"In determining the question of aptitude we may frequently find help in taking the opinions of judicious friends, men of experience who will be frank enough to tell us the plain truth. There is a strange propensity in men to suppose that what is their foible is really their forte. It is said that General Scott believed to the day of his death that his fame would depend on his literary productions, which nobody reads, rather than on his Mexican campaigns. Goethe apparently felt more pride in his *Essays on Color* than in his *Egmont* or *Tasso*. Even in the range of college experience not a few men convince themselves that they are poets, while the rest of the college community remain unconvinced. The explanation of this self-deception is probably found in the fact that we are inclined to consider as our best productions those which have cost us most toil, because we have not been working in the direction of our talent. Let us then be prepared to hear the counsels of our associates who will tell us true things, rather than pleasant things, *vera pro gratis*. The faithful wounds of a friend are better than the flatteries of a foe.

"One who is seeking to learn what his future duty is to be will find

help in the faithful discharge of present duty. The path opens as we march on. It is the young man who is busy that is most in demand. It is the brave fellow fighting in the ranks for whom shoulder straps are waiting. Go bravely at the work which Providence puts within your reach. Remember that fine saying of Carlyle that the best teacher for the duties that are dim to us is the performance of the duties which are clear to us. Keep your soul open in a spirit of candor and honesty, ready to receive whatever may prove to be the divine command for you."

He liked to teach because it gave him individual contacts with young people. For the same reason he liked to register the new students—liked to have the boys and girls come to him personally to be granted or refused excuses for absences. He interviewed the principals in all cases that seemed to call for discipline. These duties were necessarily confined, even in those days, to the Department of Literature, Science, and the Arts; in the professional schools they were looked after by the deans. As a result, he records with evident pride in his *Reminiscences*, "I knew every student [in the academic department] and could call him by name up to the time of my departure for China in 1880." Even as late as 1893 the author recalls his own admission to the University by the President, and long ago recorded in some recollections of Angell and his successors: "He seemed personally pleased that I had come,—but when he was through with his pleasant words to me, he turned to the next in line with the same air of satisfaction with which he had greeted me.<sup>2</sup> It wasn't glad-handing for effect—he wasn't a candidate for any office—it was real!"

He had strong doubts about the value of any marking system, and he rated daily work a much better criterion of student progress than the examination. In an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, of March, 1889, he wrote: "In the ordinary under-graduate work of the American college, the daily tests of the student in the class-room are of more value than the examination at the end of the term, because ordinarily they do not lead to cramming, but cultivate the habit of regular, rather than of occasional and fitful work.

"We, in the University of Michigan, hold examinations, and find it impossible to prevent some cramming for them. But the cramming must be regarded as an evil, and it can be reduced to a minimum only

<sup>2</sup> I also recall saying in that address, "The first time I realized that Professors had first names like the common people, was at a Choral Union rehearsal when Professor De Pont from the floor and Professor Stanley from the platform exchanged remarks, calling each other Paul and Albert. It gave me a new idea of the humanity of the lofty beings. But Prexy helped; he *always* seemed human."



by holding examinations rather frequently, without notice, or by refraining from attaching so much importance to them as to regular daily work.

"The general principle to be recognized seems to be this: while children, who are too young to appreciate the value of learning and mental discipline for their own sakes, may properly be allured on in the path of study by artificial attractions, yet, when these children are mature enough to know the worth of learning and mental discipline, we should make our appeal simply to their appreciation of the value and charms of knowledge and culture. Our system of educating them should also be such as to encourage them to prize the results of daily steady, well-balanced work rather than the results of a 'brilliant spurt' or of assiduous cramming."

Holding these views—a partisan of learning for its own sake—it is not to be wondered that he was at best a lukewarm supporter of the proposal to found a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa at Michigan, with its necessary dependence on a marking system.<sup>3</sup> Whether or not due in any part to the grandfather's influence, one of his grandsons, elected to Phi Beta Kappa, declined to accept membership.

A student in the course International Law, Charles A. Sink, Class of 1904, for many years President of the University Musical Society, tells this incident of Angell's distrust of examinations as the sole criterion of the success of a student's work:

"When our examination was held at the end of the semester, I wrote what I thought was a good paper. Being a rapid writer, I was the first to finish. I recall clearly that I walked down the center aisle to Dr. Angell's desk to hand in my paper. He looked up with much surprise. Since it was the first paper to be handed in, he read it very carefully.

"A few days later, just before noon, when I returned from my classes to my rooming house, I found a letter from the President's office awaiting me. He requested me to call at his office at noon that day. I had just enough time to get there—not knowing in the least what he wanted. When I entered he greeted me pleasantly, and then he asked me how it happened that I had written such a poor paper. He said that I had been good at recitations, and that he had looked up my record and found

<sup>3</sup> "I am satisfied that the teaching of the main branches here is very good, and that the work accomplished by the students is quite as great as I have ever seen. I am quite converted in respect to the uselessness of the marking system, if you will mercilessly throw out the incapables and the indolent. I am sure I never saw so punctual attendance anywhere as we now have." Letter to Dr. Caswell, February 18, 1872.

that I had never received a condition; and therefore, he was giving me another test. He motioned me to a desk where there was a bluebook and a set of questions. He told me to re-write the exam, which I did; and when I was through I handed the bluebook to him. He read it carefully, and then asked me why I had not written as well on the first exam. Finally, I admitted that I had already had two examinations that day and that I thought I had written a good paper. Sympathetically he said, 'Three examinations in one day is too much. You were tired, and that accounts for it, because your paper today is excellent and I am going to pass you.'

"I was greatly impressed by his attitude—that a man such as he with a class of several hundred would take all these pains to make sure that justice was had, by even one of the less significant students."

The thing his students remember best about his classroom is the pleasant, comfortable air that permeated it. It was as if the President, sitting in his chair—he never stood in these classes—was having a pleasant, if one-sided, conversation with each individual student before him. He just told us about the principles involved in the case before us, the circumstances that had brought it to its present status, and the personalities involved in the developments. It was no effort for him to tell us all the pertinent facts; he knew them seemingly beyond the realms of mere memory,—we were *there* with him when the events happened and he was merely pointing out the more significant among them.

At times when questions of moment involving relations between nations were before the country, he would put aside his regular day's subject and talk to his class on the question of the hour. In 1896, for example, after his return from the Conference on International Arbitration, he gave his class a first-hand report of the proceedings. Earlier in the same year he talked of the propriety of recognizing the belligerency of the Cuban insurrectos in their struggle against Spain. "A neutral nation," he said, "decides whether or not to grant belligerent rights according to its own interests in the face of the facts. It is not primarily a matter of sympathy. Prerequisites to a recognition of belligerency are that there shall be actual war, something more than a series of revolts or guerrilla warfare, that the insurgents shall be strong enough to make a state, shall give some evidence of possessing a form of organization fit to carry on governmental functions, and that there shall be some fair probability of their success." In 1904 when President Theodore Roosevelt and the new republic of Panama which had seceded from Colombia were making their arrangements for digging the Panama Canal, Angell



discussed with his class the new problems thus arising. He pointed out that the new republic had already been recognized by France and by Germany, as well as by the United States, and that the current questions, involving a nearly sixty-year-old treaty with Colombia, would not have arisen had Colombia not refused to permit a canal to be built while Panama was part of that country. The United States refused, under the old treaty of 1846, to allow Colombia to land troops in Panama, and the terrain prevented the marching of troops across country. Thus Colombia was helpless in the premises, and the revolution succeeded without bloodshed. "So far as I know," said Angell, "this is the first case of this kind that has ever come up in the history of international relations." On another occasion, Angell brought his friend former Secretary of State John W. Foster before the class as lecturer for the day.

Such lively connection between the international events of the day and the instruction of his class in the history of the years gave the students a vivid sense of the reality of the entire subject and of his teaching. They would have understood, out of their own experience, what John Hay meant when he was indirectly quoted by his biographer William Roscoe Thayer with respect to an analogous stimulus that had come to him in his college days at Brown: "To a youth who was feeding his imagination on Shelley, those weekly exercises in Spalding's treadmill could not have been inspiring. At least one of his teachers, however, Professor James B. Angell,—subsequently, President of the University of Michigan,—both stirred Hay's enthusiasm and recognized his ability. They read together several of the great French and German masterpieces, and Hay proved the best translator Dr. Angell ever had in his classes."

There was a world of revelation of Angell's ideals in a letter he once wrote to President Charles Kendall Adams at Cornell: "I see you have given up teaching. I think I had rather give up something else."<sup>4</sup>

The enduring grip that Angell had on the student body was illustrated when, nearly sixty years after graduation in 1884, an alumnus bequeathed to the University in the simplest of terms a fund of many thousands of dollars "in loving memory of the late President James B. Angell." That was the only condition the donor attached to his bequest. He did not seem to care what the University did with the money. His

<sup>4</sup> As far back as February 18, 1872, he had written to his father-in-law: "I have taken some class work in hand. I found myself fairly uncomfortable from the lack of such contact with students. A good opportunity opened, and I have undertaken to give about 60 of the Seniors two lectures a week on International Law for some weeks. There has been no instruction in that study before. It will crowd me a little perhaps, but I think it will pay me, if I succeed in interesting my class."

object was only to do something that should preserve a memory which meant much to him.

As must have been obvious long ere this page was reached the trail that James B. Angell left behind him was strewn with words and deeds that could come only from one who to the depths of his nature loved his fellow man. He was a college president, but he was much more. The University itself spoke for him as President. He yearned to be the individual friend of every one of those for whom colleges and universities are maintained. He never lost sight of the personality that sat in the professor's chair or on the student's bench, that read in the library or lounged about the campus. He craved a particular, human relationship with each one and so far as he could, he achieved it. If there was any help he could give in the solution of a personal problem, if youthful footsteps seemed to be approaching folly, if he sensed opportunity that might be missed for growth of soul, it was his happiness to offer unobtrusive guidance. None of this was for effect. It may be repeated for its connotation: he was not a candidate for anything. His solicitude for those he thought he might help—and a comprehensive description of this group might be almost "everybody"—was as real, as inborn, as much subsisting in his being as it was unostentatious and humble in exercise.

He was wise in the ways of the human heart. President Faunce in his early days as head of Brown asked him for advice on "how to succeed as a college president," and was told, "Grow antennae, not horns."<sup>5</sup>

A few examples, in addition to those that have already appeared, of his solicitude for "people"—any people—have come in from various persons during the preparation of this book.

One<sup>6</sup> recalled: "Going to Detroit on the Michigan Central I happened to be riding in the same coach with President Angell. He sat several seats ahead of me. Directly behind him was an Italian woman with a little child. The little fellow was doubtless tired from his journey and he began toying with Dr. Angell's hat. That seemed almost like sacrilege to me, an undergraduate. Prexy turned about and engaged in conversation with the woman and her child. When we arrived at the depot in Detroit he helped her off the train with her little one. My respect and admiration for Dr. Angell, which had always been high arose to towering heights."

<sup>5</sup> This was in line with advice he gave me when in 1908 as a neophyte University Secretary, I asked an analogous question and was smilingly told: "I can put it in seven words: 'One blind eye and one deaf ear.'"

<sup>6</sup> Reverend Archibald A. Forshee, '98, of Dorchester, Mass.



An alumnus<sup>7</sup> who came to have close relations with him writes: "Frequently, I would drop in at his residence in the afternoon and find him reading in his library. He would motion me to a chair, and likely as not, he would read from the book which he had before him. He would chuckle over something, and he would discuss the content with me. On one occasion he said something like, 'Charlie, if you and I had an opportunity of visiting with some distinguished personality, we would listen and pay attention to practically every word that he spoke. Do you realize that great men have put down their best thoughts in books, and when you read what they have to say, you should try to imagine that the author is standing there with you, and that it is meant for you personally. You should read the best of his thoughts and ideas just as you would listen to him if he were present.'"

A faculty wife recalls after forty years her astonishment and pleasure as a girl, when she returned after an illness to her accustomed place in the library, and the old President in passing paused to say to her, "I have been missing you."<sup>8</sup>

Another faculty wife has her own remembrance of his thoughtfulness for one who was not overblessed with money. In the summer after her graduation in 1897, an orphan and member of a widely scattered family, the President, meeting her on the street, said to her: "I hear you are going to the Upper Peninsula to teach. The winters up there are cold beyond *our* belief. You *must* have warm underclothing,—and if it isn't convenient for you now to provide it, let me advance you what money you need for plenty of it."<sup>9</sup>

How many university presidents of that or any other day would thus take thought for individual students—and what is perhaps more, know how to make it seem the most fatherly and natural thing in the world?

An Ann Arbor professional man<sup>10</sup> came to the university as a student only a year or two before Angell's death. Strolling aimlessly about the campus one Sunday afternoon, he met a very old gentleman leaning on a cane as he moved slowly along. The youth stopped and asked him a question about directions in Ann Arbor. The old man told him what he needed to know and asked whether he was going somewhere in particular. Then he said he himself was out for a little walk and asked the youngster if he would not accompany him. After an extended stroll

<sup>7</sup> Charles A. Sink.

<sup>8</sup> Mrs. Russell C. Hussey.

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Shirley W. Smith.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Elbert P. Freeman.

during which the old gentleman pointed out various buildings by name and told of the work carried on in them, they ultimately stopped in front of a big house on South University Avenue. The patriarch thanked him for his company and said he would have to turn in there because that was where he lived and that his name was Angell.

A perfectly natural reaction of youth to the obvious in the Angell personality comes from a Brown graduate<sup>11</sup> of 1900: "It happened a good many years ago. The scene was the campus of one of our oldest New England universities. At that time Dr. Faunce was president of Brown and he had invited Dr. Angell, president of the University of Michigan and a Brown graduate, to visit him over night and attend college chapel in the morning. In those days chapel was compulsory with only four or five cuts allowed each term.

"Dr. Angell was introduced by President Faunce as a friend of youth. His unrehearsed talk to the young men revealed a depth of understanding, a sympathy for the young man's point of view that was almost overwhelming in the impression it made.

"When chapel was over the college filed out but instead of breaking up into little groups going in a dozen different directions, the boys made a long line way across the middle campus, half on one side the path, half on the other. As Dr. Faunce and his guest came out they walked through this human lane. The boys took off their hats and kept them off until Dr. Angell left the campus.

"It was just a spontaneous, impromptu tribute to a great man. These young college men were prompt to evaluate one of the most human and understanding educators this country has ever produced."

Perhaps the secret of James B. Angell's command of Michigan's affections lies in the fact that "human life has within it the element of despair. . . . This despair is caused by the gap between what man is and what he knows he ought to be. We cannot escape the feeling that we are made for greatness, and we cannot escape the conviction that we fall far beneath that state. . . . We are all disappointed men."<sup>12</sup> Yet we still hope. Finding someone we know who is or would be a personal friend, who in his life has reduced this gap to a minimum is a comfort and an encouragement. We feel we want to—we must—tie to him. James B. Angell, whom his country had sent on missions to the far corners, who had won the affection of fellow men in all climes and in all stations, under whose care had developed a great University, was such a man.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. George G. Bass of Harris, Upham & Co., New York City.

<sup>12</sup> Bishop Gerald Kennedy.



His friends ran the gamut from Lord Bryce, Li Hung Chang, university presidents, prime ministers and presidents to his Negro servant and the loneliest of college freshmen. Trust and affection went to him as steel to the magnet.

One day after he had retired he was taking a walk along Ann Arbor's so-called "boulevard" (now Glen Drive), a roadway which winds down through the Arboretum on the Geddes hillside, between Forest Hill Cemetery above and the deep valley below. On the bluff above the path Professor George P. Burns, now emeritus at the University of Vermont, was superintending the setting out of a large number of young spruce and pine trees, and Dr. Angell stopped to see what was going on. "Now, young man," he said to Burns, "I don't want you to do anything here which is going to cut off my view. You know I shall soon be spending a long time up there on that hill."

Thousands of those who knew him personally or by hearsay, hope that he may have found the friends for reunion with whom he so cheerfully and confidently longed. But also they pray, after whatever fashion, that his happiness may not involve forgetfulness of the University which he so long guided. From where he keeps his watch on the hill or in a hereafter about which so little is known, may he see it ever growing in his own ideals of noble and affectionate manhood and womanhood, of love of whatever is true, and of service and comfort to boys and girls, to men and women, to all humanity.

James B. Angell concluded his "Memorial Discourse on the Life and Services of Henry Simmons Frieze," on March 16, 1890, with these words: *"There was something in his winning personality that eluded analysis. There was in him a certain charm of soul which cannot be fully depicted with such an instrument as human speech. But memory will preserve for us the sweet recollections of the winsomeness of that personality, of the attractiveness of that spirit. And so for years to come his radiant presence will not be altogether lost to us. And so long as this University shall stand, something, we may hope, of the benign influence of this refined, devoted, noble scholar and teacher will remain as a factor in its life."*

Could anyone more correctly portray James B. Angell himself?



## *MEMORANDA*

### A FEW MEMORIALS

James B. Angell Hall

Portrait in Michigan Union by William M. Chase

Tablet on the Michigan Union Entrance

Tablet in Alumni Memorial Hall by Karl Bitter

Fireplace in the Martha Cook Building

The east window in the Congregational Church of Ann Arbor

The James B. Angell School (City of Ann Arbor)

The Angell Burr Oak between Alumni Memorial Hall and the  
Romance Language Building

President Angell's salary from the University never exceeded \$7,000 a year. On the death of Mrs. Angell's father, President Caswell, who besides being a member of the Brown faculty, was also a bank president and stockholder in numerous New England businesses, she ultimately received a substantial legacy. There is no inventory of his estate in the court files at Providence, though there is in Mrs. Angell's handwriting a list of her father's known property aggregating about \$75,000. After the death of Mrs. Caswell, Mrs. Angell and Admiral Caswell were the ultimate heirs. Her share of her father's estate, plus savings from yearly incomes, plus careful investments over the years by Alexis Caswell Angell, resulted in an estate at the time of James B. Angell's death which the court inventoried at \$133,185.61.





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